The Outlook

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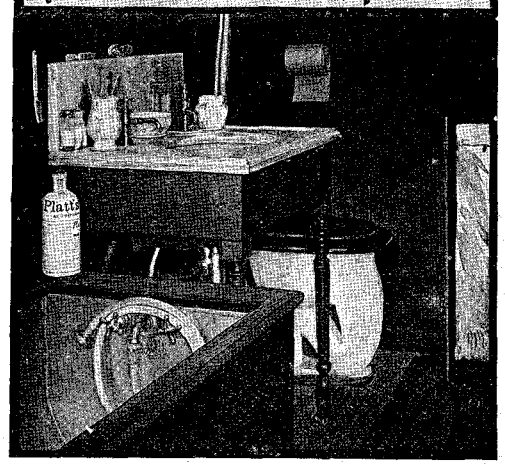

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The Outlook

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ents in Congress

The most important event in Congress last eek was the decision of the Republicans the House that no amendments whatver should be permitted to the war-tax peal bill. This decision shut out ike Mr. Babcock's amendment withrawing tariff protection from the steel ust and any amendment from any uarter reducing the tariff on Cuban roducts. Unfortunately, the aggressive ipporters of the free steel amendment ame largely from Western districts in hich beet sugar is produced, and for this eason were easily persuaded to accept ie agreement that no amendments to the ix bill should be considered. In this ay discussion of the tariff question was revented in the House, which on Monay of this week adopted by a strict party ote the rule shutting off amendments, nd immediately, on motion of the Demoratic leader, passed the repeal bill by a inanimous vote. Of somewhat less imortance was the action of the House Republican caucus in postponing action n the resolutions to reduce the represenation of States abridging the suffrage in ccordance with the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It was noteworthy that the pressre against taking up this subject came rom Southern Republican Congressmen nd from the party managers—the opposition of the latter indicating that no action will be taken upon this matter by the present Congress. Next to the tax-repeal bill, the most important bill acted on was the new oleomargarine bill, which narrowly escaped defeat by amendment, but finally passed the House without a formal division. The new bill, while much more extreme than the present law, is more easily defensible on grounds of justice. Instead of subjecting all oleomargarine to a tax of two cents a pound in order to protect butter-makers against the competition of fellow-citizens, it puts a merely nominal tax of half a cent a pound on oleomargarine in its natural color, but puts an almost prohibitory tax of ten cents a pound on oleomargarine colored to imitate butter. The supporters of the bill claim that it merely requires oleomargarine to "sail under its true colors." The vote against the bill—or, more strictly, the vote for its amendment—would not have been so large had not the measure contained a clause permitting every State to regulate absolutely the sale of oleomargarine within its borders. Thirty-two States have prohibited the sale of oleomargarine, but the prohibition has been of no effect because, under the "original package" decision of the Supreme Court, dealers could sell "original packages" of one pound each imported from other States. Under the new bill, if it becomes law, every State can regulate the sale of oleomargarine as it sees fit, so long as it imposes the same restriction upon the home-made product as upon the product made in sister States.

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The Philippine Debate

The Philippine situation continued to be the absorbing topic in the Senate last week. Senator Teller, of Colorado, who three years ago voted against the Bacon resolution pledging the Philippines the same treatment we pledged Cuba, made a two days' speech in favor of substantially the policy he opposed on that critical occasion, when the Senate was a tie until the Vice-President gave his casting vote against a pledge. Taking as his text the petition of the Federal party in the Philippines that their country be accorded immediately the rights of Territories and ultimately the rights of States, Senator Teller declared his opposition to

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any such incorporation of the Philippines within our body politic, but urged that the people of the Philippines were entitled to definite formulation of our policy toward them. This policy, he went on, must recognize the right of the Philippines to a government resting on the consent of the governed, and not upon the military power of alien rulers. To this end he demanded the sending of a new Commission to the Philippines, authorized to offer the people independence under an American protectorate as regards their foreign relations. The other set speech of the week which attracted general attention was that of Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, who introduced an amendment to the pending tariff bill; he would place certain Philippine products on our free list, admit others at fifty per cent. of the Dingley rates, and put discriminating tonnage duties on the vessels of foreign nations trading in the Philippines. The amendment was urged partly to conciliate the Filipinos and partly to promote the commerce of the Pacific coast. Senator Mitchell declared that the Pacific coast had the same right to reduced duties on commerce with the Philippines that the Atlantic coast had to the 85 per cent. reduction in the duties on commerce with Porto Rico, which has since been replaced by free trade. In reply to the objection that his proposal would conflict with our policy of the open door in the Orient, Senator Mitchell declared that if the policy of the open door prevented our legislating as we saw best for our own country and its insular possessions, it was a policy "dangerous in the extreme as an abandonment of our sovereign right to regulate our trade relations to suit ourselves." He denied, however, that discriminations in favor of our own trade in our own colonies prevented our opposing discriminations by China in favor of any foreign nation.

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Americanizing the Philippines

These set speeches, however, concerning our future policy in the Philippines did not begin to arouse the interest, either in the Senate or the Nation, that was stirred by the unpremeditated clash of arms between Senator Platt, of Connecticut, and Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, over the alleged unrepublicanism of our present policy in the islands. Senato Platt, in reply to one of Senator Teller statements, declared that our governmer in the Philippines already rested on th consent of the governed. In support c this declaration he pointed out that ou armies in the Philippines had alread been reduced to 40,000 men, reporte that a further reduction was in conten plation, and read a series of reports fro the Filipino and American governors c pacified provinces. The first of these dated Ilicos Norte, December 17, 190 affirmed that the people of this provinc are humble, very timid and obedient the second report—from the province c Rizal—definitely asserted that "all in habitants are in favor of the civil govern ment and devoted to American sover eignty;" the third report, signed by a Fili pino, declared that the people of Bulucan formerly filled with the revolutionary spirit now recognized "the laudable intentions" of our Government, and were convince that "only under peace can the welfare an uplifting of the Philippines under Ameri can rule be effected." The other report were of like tenor, asserting a growing appreciation of American institutions o the part of the Filipinos, and proving Senator Platt said, that "we are making most rapid progress toward the establish ment of peaceable, peaceful, and satisfy ing government among the natives of the Philippines." Senator Hoar, in reply to Senator Platt, declared that the reports of these Governors were worth no more than the reports of Tory Governors as to the state of public sentiment in this country during the Revolutionary war. He referred to the petition for independence forwarded by two thousand leading citizens of Manila and by town meetings in pacified provinces, and contended that this evidence outweighed the reports of Governors chosen at elections at which it was a "penitentiary offense for everybody who takes part in it to advocate any political opinion whatever." Continuing, Senator Hoar satirized the report that there was a growing appreciation of our institutions. "Our institutions," he said, "as we translate them to the Philippine Islands," are "disarming the citizens, having elections without debate, and having the local chief magistrates appointed by a foreign country." When reminded

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by an interruption of the establishment of free schools, Senator Hoar retorted:

Free schools! What kind of free schools? . . . Can they read to those scholars the Declaration of Independence or the great amendments to our Constitution, and tell them there is the great foundation of citizenship? Can a little boy of ten or fifteen in a class in those free schools say that he loves liberty; that all men are created equal and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed? . . . I wonder if they speak pieces in the free schools in the Philippine Islands! When we were young we used to speak a piece made by a Revolutionary villain named Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death." I wonder if they speak Chatham's famous speech, the one finest oratoric utterance in all human history since the time of Greece, "Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted."

❀

The Treason Act In reply to this arraignment of America's present work in the Philippines, Senator Platt responded in an eloquent speech condemning Senator Hoar's acceptance of two thousand petitioners as representative of the whole people of Manila, condemning his rejection of the report of the Philippine Commissioners as to the loyalty of the pacified provinces, and especially condemning his declaration that under the new treason act free political discussion preceding elections was forbidden. The new treason act, he pointed out, was almost identical in its penalties with the treason act of the State of Connecticut, and yet the people not only of Connecticut, but of the whole country, believe that the Connecticut act is right, and that "when any one with arms in his hands anywhere that the United States is entitled to sovereignty is resisting that sovereignty, he is an enemy of the United States, and that any one who corresponds with him to encourage him to continue in that hostility to the United States commits a crime and deserves punishment." Continuing with reference to the portion of the Philippine act restraining political discussion, Senator Platt said:

The Senator says under this statute you shall not discuss the issue of an election when an election is pending. Let us see if that is so:

All persons who shall meet together for the purpose of forming or who shall form any secret society, or who shall after the passage of this act continue membership in a society already formed having for its object, in whole or in part, the promotion of treason, rebellion, sedition, **or the promulgation of any political opinion or policy,** shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both.

Is there anything in that which prevents free speech at an election, or which prohibits the declamation of those grand things to which the Senator has referred? It seems strange that human observation can be so warped as to draw any such conclusions. It does prohibit secret societies, as this Government ought to prohibit the secret doings of Anarchists. It does prohibit secret societies aimed at the existence of the Government, as we ought in this country to prohibit and punish membership in secret societies organized for the purpose of destroying the Government. . . . If we are a Government worthy of the name, worthy of living, worthy of a place in the present or the future, whenever men take arms against the Government of the United States in any country, district, or territory where the sovereignty of the United States prevails, we will put down that rebellion. . . . I do not want to say anything to revive the memories of the saddest war of recent times, but I cannot refrain from alluding to the fact that for four years we resisted this doctrine that government in its strict and literal sense depended on the consent of the governed, and that eleven States and the people of those States, claiming that they could not be coerced, claiming that they were struggling for liberty and establishing an independence of their own, for four long years fought that question out with us and we prevailed.

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Senator Hoar's Reply Senator Hoar in his final reply declared that the Southern States of our Union did not constitute a separate people, but were struggling to overthrow a National Government established by the consent of all the States for the government of all. Abraham Lincoln, he continued, declared that the doctrine of the consent of the governed was one for which, if need be, he would lay down his life. The clause in the Philippine treason act cited by Senator Platt did not, he urged, merely forbid secret societies formed to overthrow government, but every secret society, and every society for the promulgation of any political opinion or policy. Furthermore, it was not this clause which he had in mind when he declared that free discussion was forbidden. The clause he referred to was the one quoted in The Outlook last week, forbidding any advocacy of independence in the Philippines until it was officially proclaimed that the insurrection was at an end. With reference to the similarity of penalties for treason to American sovereignty in the Philippines and in our own country, he

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insisted that the latter had never been enforced; with reference to his distrust of the report of the Philippine Commission, he affirmed his respect for Governor Taft but reaffirmed his distrust of Governor Taft's reports of the actual conditions.

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Governor Taft's Views

Governor Taft last week continued his presentation of Philippine affairs and conditions before the Philippine Committee of the United States Senate. The early part of his testimony was summarized by Mr. Kennan last week in The Outlook. On the question of tariff and revenue he said that such a tariff concession as is proposed would be of vast benefit to the farmers of the islands—and practically all the inhabitants are farmers. He would be glad to see a reduction of fifty per cent., and he did not think that the tariff established should be temporary, like that of Porto Rico. The revenue bill passed by the Philippine Commission might soon equal in its returns those under the old law—about nine or ten million dollars. Power should be given the Commission to pass general corporation laws, and to grant franchises, especially for electric railway and light plants; English capital controls most commercial enterprises now. At a later session the rate of pay to the Commission was considered, and Governor Taft pointed out that the necessary expenses are very much larger than in this country, and prices much higher; thus, although Governor Taft himself now receives pay at the rate of $20,000 a year, he is obliged to pay such sums as $1,500 a year for the lighting of his so-called palace, and $3,000 a year for servants. Returning to the question of pacification, Governor Taft said that he believed the strength of the American forces could soon be reduced even below the level of 27,500; that only three provinces were now unpacified; that the code of laws had been prepared by Judge Ide with very great care; that three natives and four Americans sit on the Supreme Court bench, while six natives and six Americans preside over courts of the first instance; but that there is no provision for a jury, as ninety per cent. of the people are too ignorant to sit on a jury. The employment of native troops must be managed with discretion, and no part the archipelago should be intrusted native troops; when all the provinc are pacified, fifteen thousand Americ troops would be sufficient. Senator C berson asked if it were true that, und the existing law, the natives are not liberty to advocate independence or se arate form of government; to which Go ernor Taft replied: "No, they are not Governor Taft said that, in his opinion, tl native mind is not yet capable of accep ing and applying the American ideas justice and administration, and he advise against the setting of any time at whic the Filipino people could be admitted citizenship in the Union, or the full enjo ment of all the guarantees of the Const tution. Referring to the petition of th Federal party, which is summarized o another page of this issue of The Outlook Governor Taft said that the cases of impri onment referred to there were for militar and not for civil offenses; that the Fe eral party's platform had been submitte to the Commission, and that the declar tion with regard to Statehood had bee made less urgent at the request of th Commission. Governor Taft declare that the Commission was not responsibl for the formation of the Federal party but that the members of the Commissio had been consulted by the prominer Filipinos who had organized the party The memorialists, he said, are perfectl sincere in favoring ultimate Statehoo Governor Taft explicitly advised that th agreement as to what should ultimatel be done in the way of government or c maintaining relations between the Unite States and the Philippines should b postponed for the present, and added "Whether the islands should have thei independence, whether they should b given a quasi-independence, or whethe they should be made a State of the Union is so far in the future that I have reache no conclusion. The great evil of th present time with reference to the Philip pines is the current discussion of thei future so long before that can be fixed.' He thought there should be a declaratio on the part of the United States of it intention to hold the islands indefinitely with the understanding that when they are suitable for such a condition they may be given a quasi-independence.

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Affairs in the Post-Office Department

Three recent events affect the conduct of the Post-Office Department. One of these is the refusal of the President to appoint a negro as postmaster in a Georgia office, on the ground, as reported, that a negro would be obnoxious to the patrons of the office. The decision of the President is entirely justifiable. It is not the purpose of any branch of the Government to give employment to any one, white or black, but to serve the people, not only efficiently, but satisfactorily. The presence of a negro in a postmastership is evidently not essential to the efficiency of the service. Therefore, if his presence is distasteful to those whom he is set to serve, it is right that his place should be given to some one else; as it ought to be if the ground of dissatisfaction were other than one of race feeling. The second event of importance is the announcement of the Postmaster-General that fourth-class postmasters may be removed for cause only. It is to be hoped that this purpose will be maintained and become a permanent policy of the Department. It is significant that the first important decision under the administration of Mr. Payne, who before his appointment was best known as a skillful political manager, should be in the direction of Civil Service Reform. It has been pointed out by those who are ready to attribute unworthy motives for acts which are entirely explicable on other and better grounds that this policy will tend to keep the fourth-class postmasterships in the hands of members of the party in power, and therefore may be interpreted as a partisan move. We prefer to leave to others the unprofitable speculation as to motives and instead to welcome the fact of reform, which, if sincere, is the more courageous because open to misconstruction. Mr. Payne himself, at all events, could not have brought about this change under any other conditions than those which he found when he entered upon his official duties. The third event is the presentation to an Illinois Representative in Congress of a petition in favor of his bill providing for the reduction of letter postage to one cent. The petitioners ask also for relief from the abuse of privileges accorded to second-class matter. Such relief is of far greater importance than any legislation on letter postage. As The Outlook has already said, that reform should begin by reducing the rate paid to the railroads for carrying mail to the level of the rate paid by private corporations for carrying express matter. So long as the Government pays over twice as much as the express companies pay for the same service, and consequently regularly faces a deficit, reduction of letter postage is not a matter for immediate consideration.

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The Attitude of the Powers in the Spanish War

It is not easy to follow the discussion of the details of the attitude of the different countries towards this Government on the eve of the Spanish War, and the matter is not now of great consequence. There is apparently a difference of view between the English and the German representatives, but it is a difference which is very probably explained by the circumstances. On the 7th of April, 1898, representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy, under instructions from their Governments, presented to President McKinley a collective note in which, in the most courteous language of diplomacy, they expressed the hope that Cuba might be liberated without the outbreak of war. President McKinley replied that our Government shared the same hope; but that, if war came, he was confident the Powers would recognize the duty of this Government to end a situation which had become insufferable. It is said that a copy of this note was sent to President McKinley in advance by the British Ambassador, Lord Pauncefote, in order to prepare him for its presentation. A week later, on the 14th of April, a conference was held at the British Embassy, when a further note to this Government was discussed and submitted by the Ambassadors to their Governments, declaring that our intervention in Cuba would be unjustifiable. This note was not originated by Lord Pauncefote. It was submitted by him to his own Government, and he was promptly instructed to take no further steps in the matter. The publication of this note seemed to give some basis to the claim of the German Government that English friendliness at the beginning of the war was not so conspicuous or so consistent as Americans

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have generally believed; but it is explained that, in presenting the note, Lord Pauncefote simply acted in his official capacity as dean of the diplomatic corps, and that, in consequence, he was no more responsible for its contents than is a member of Congress who presents a petition. Attention is also called to the fact, which is indisputable, that the British Government promptly and decisively declined to interpose any objection to the course of the United States. The diplomatic history of the period is somewhat obscure; but it is perfectly plain that England was throughout entirely friendly in her attitude, and that on more than one occasion during the war her friendship was of great importance to us. It is also clear that Germany declined to take action against us. In fact, no nation appears to have espoused the cause of Spain except Austria, and Americans will not resent the sympathy of that country with a country to which its rulers were bound by family ties. It was as natural that Austria should sympathize with Spain as that England should be sympathetic with the United States. The agreeable aspect of the whole discussion lies in the fact that all the great nations are anxious to be counted our good friends, and we are equally anxious to class them together as friends of the United States.

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The Marquis of Dufferin Last week, by the death of the Marquis of Dufferin, Great Britain lost a foremost administrator and diplomat—indeed, no British official in our generation rivaled him in extent and variety of political service. Sir Frederick Temple-Blackwood was a descendant of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and had much of Sheridan's witty alertness. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and shortly after succeeded to his father's title as Baron Dufferin. For some years he was a Lord-in-waiting to the Queen, and then was attached to several missions, notably that to Syria to investigate the cause of the massacre of Christians there. He occupied various positions in the British Cabinet, and was finally appointed Governor-General of Canada. He is generally regarded as having been both the most popular and the most successful of all Governors-General of the Dominion. His tenure of office was specially distinguished by the settlement of the discontent over the terms of the union with it of British Columbia. He became British Ambassador to Russia, being transferred thence to Turkey. At Cairo he settled the questions relating to Arabi's rebellion. In 1884 he went to India as Viceroy, holding that office for five years. The period of his viceroyalty witnessed the settlement by him on a comparatively satisfactory basis of the land tenures; this was a remarkable achievement, since in India land tenures are peculiarly various and multiform. A more picturesque event, however, was Lord Dufferin's acquisition of Upper Burma. In recognition of this event, the Marquisate of Dufferin and Ava was created for him. Ava is the native name of Burma. In 1888 the Marquis was appointed Ambassador to Italy. His last office was as Ambassador to France. Of it Lord Dufferin said: "To be an Ambassador in Paris is recognized in every country in Europe as the ultimate reward and prize of the diplomatic profession." Owing to his generous hospitality everywhere, Lord Dufferin found himself a poor man at the close of his career, and in order to recoup his fortunes became interested in certain speculative enterprises. The promoters of these enterprises, however, had merely taken advantage of the inexperience in finance of one who was a past-master in diplomacy and administration. A crash came, but the indignant shareholders in the bubble companies had no anger to vent upon the venerable statesman whose manly address to them showed pathetically how he came to be the dupe of designing men.

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The Case of Professor Pearson Professor Charles W. Pearson, formerly head of the Department of English Literature in the Northwestern University (Methodist) at Evanston, Ill., has resigned from his position under pressure, produced as the result of certain recent publications on the necessity of creed revision in the Methodist Church. We hope that it is not true, as reported, that the Rev. H. A. Hardin, a Presiding Elder, has said: "If I had the power and ability, I would skin that man, salt his hide, and tack it on the barn door before

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the ordinary preacher could sharpen his jackknife on his boot-leg." If he has said this, or anything analogous to this, the Methodist Church ought to take prompt measures for his discipline. Such a reversion to the persecuting passion of the sixteenth century is as inconsistent with the true spirit of Wesleyanism as it is with the spirit of the twentieth century. Professor Pearson has summed up in one of his letters the changes which he desires made by the Methodist Church in the following words:

> To sum up: Our present opposition to science and to progressive Biblical scholarship alienates the educated and thoughtful; our present apathy in regard to social questions keeps away the wage-earning classes and the poor; our present attitude towards amusements repels all healthy and cultured people, and especially the young and joyous, to whose best development innocent amusements are as necessary as instruction and work. When we reverse this mistaken policy, when we are, in the good sense in which Paul used the phrase, "all things to all men;" when, above all, we do the "greater works" that Jesus declared that his followers should do, then we shall no longer mourn a decline, but rejoice because God again blesses and prospers us.

We suspect that this somewhat keen criticism partly accounts for the intense hostility which has been raised against Professor Pearson in a certain section of the Methodist Church, though the opposition is mainly based on his utterances in a second and third publication in which he goes into the subject of Theology and Biblical Criticism more at length.

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Professor Pearson's Theology

Professor Pearson objects, we think with entire justice, to making the acceptance of the Articles of Religion a condition of admission into the Methodist Episcopal Church. Such acceptance excludes little children who cannot understand them, Roman Catholics, the heathen, and the outcast and ignorant of our own land, to whom they are either objectionable or meaningless, and some of the best and wisest thinkers to whom they are philosophically and spiritually incredible. Among these objectionable articles he includes—and here also The Outlook agrees with him—the following phrase from Article II., "Christ was crucified to reconcile his Father to us." He advocates what he calls "Open Inspiration vs. a Closed Canon and an Infallible Bible." He declares that "the Bible is the most precious of all books," but that "the great spiritual treasure of the Bible is in an earthen vessel." The story of Adam and Eve, the stories of Daniel, the miracles of Elijah's ravens, of Elisha making the ax to swim, and of Christ raising the son of the widow of Nain, he regards as legends or myths. The statement that the Ten Commandments were written by the finger of God on tablets of stone he declares to be, if not figurative, then legendary and incredible. The inspiration of the Scripture is spiritual, and is therefore through the spirit, and spiritual consciousness still receives the truth of God from God. In this pamphlet The Outlook finds less to criticise for what Professor Pearson says than for what he does not say. Does Professor Pearson class all so-called miracles as legendary or mythical? How does he estimate the resurrection of Jesus Christ—as a historical fact or as an illusion? Does he regard Jesus Christ as the consummate revelation of God, of which all future revelations are interpretative, and by which all other revelations, precedent or consequent, are to be tested? or does he regard Jesus Christ as only one in a long line of prophets, of whom others subsequent are presumably superior? These questions we do not find answered in his pamphlet, and on the answers to these and kindred questions depends his right to remain as a teacher in the Christian Church. His pamphlets afford a fresh illustration of the truth that, especially in our time, all negative criticism should be accompanied by and subordinate to constructive work. The lack of such constructive work in the latter two of Professor Pearson's publications constitutes their most serious defect.

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Canon Gore

As The Outlook has already reported, the King's Bench Court granted a rule *nisi*, calling upon Dr. Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Cripps, his Vicar-General, to show cause why a writ of mandamus should not be issued directing them to hear and pass upon certain objections to the consecration of Dr. Gore, Bishop-designate of Worcester. One of these

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objections was that Canon Gore had "deliberately made use of language calculated to cause pain to many earnest believers." This referred to certain passages in "Lux Mundi." Further, it was pointed out that Dr. Gore had been a member of the English Church Union, a very High Church organization, and that at one of its meetings he had claimed liberty to use all the ancient ritual for the ceremonial exposition of the Prayer-Book services. It was also urged that he had been a member of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, that he had founded one monastic society and expressed approval of another. The replies of the Archbishop, Mr. Cripps, and Dr. Gore were made through Sir Edward Clarke and other eminent counsel. The result was to overrule the objections to one of the most eminent Churchmen of our day, and last week the mandamus was vacated, the Chief Justice holding that interference in the Crown's right to nominate had not been allowed since the time of Henry VIII., and that there was not sufficient ground for the objections to Dr. Gore.

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Professor J. B. Thayer
Rev. J. C. Needham

The influence of a man is by no means measured by his reputation, especially in these days when reputation largely depends upon the newspaper. Professor J. B. Thayer, of Harvard Law School, whose sudden death last week came as a surprise to his friends as well as to the public, has been one of the creators of American jurisprudence. He possessed in an eminent degree the distinctively legal temperament, that is, the intellectual capacity to grasp great principles and to trace out their varied application; a conscience trained to recognize what social justice requires, which is sometimes different from what justice between individual men would require; great clearness of exposition, enabling him to impart to others his own apprehension of truth and righteousness; and a moral force of character which gave weight as well as clearness to his teaching. These qualities are all illustrated in his article in the "Harvard Law Review" in which he anticipated the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the Insular Cases, an article which was a fine exemplification of the power of the great lawyer to use the precedents of the past as a guide in the perplexities of the future, making the precedents rather an instrument of the reason than an authority to dominate it. He was a hard worker, and has left as his monuments both an honored memory among his students and a very considerable library composed of his contributions to law literature.——Prominent among the evangelists who followed Mr. Moody in spirit and method of work was the Rev. George Carter Needham, who died suddenly last Sunday. He was born in Ireland, was sent to sea as a young boy, narrowly escaped death from Patagonian savages, and at twenty years of age became an evangelist, preaching first in England and since 1868 in this country. He was widely known and had great influence especially in the Middle West. Like most evangelists, he was conservative in theology; but his chief interest was in the vital effect of religion upon character.

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Taxing Posters

Last week The Outlook described some of the interesting developments of the work of the English society called "Scapa," which has been conducting for some years vigorous campaigns against advertising disfigurement nuisances. We have hitherto spoken also of similar movements in this country; and we may now report the introduction in the New York Legislature of a bill which proposes to impose a tax of half a cent a square foot on advertising signs. This bill is approved by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, and is intended, not to limit legitimate advertising, much less as a measure for the purpose of raising money, but rather, in the language of the Society, "to mitigate the offensive extremes to which competition and enterprise go in blazoning their advertisements before the public eye." The rights of business men to present the merits of their goods in a legitimate way are preserved by a provision which excepts from the rule above made advertisements placed upon lands or structures indicating the business conducted therein. The tax would be collected under the provisions of this bill by tax stamps; one-third of the proceeds would go to the State and two-thirds to

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the county or city. In Philadelphia a municipal tax of ten cents a square foot is under consideration. Similar provisions for regulating street signs exist in England, France, and Belgium; and the general result of the laws on this subject in the places named has been to reduce the size of posters displayed and to make them more artistic in character. In Brussels, for instance, where the municipality controls the billboards entirely and collects a low tax, it is stated that the city has been almost entirely relieved of the worst evils of unsightly advertisements. What has been done in England we have told our readers in more than one paragraph on the subject. It is quite likely that the law now before the New York Legislature may be amended in various particulars, if it is adopted at all; and certainly The Outlook does not necessarily indorse the exact provisions of this particular bill in saying that some kind of State or municipal regulation of public advertisements would be welcome to the citizens whose artistic sense is constantly offended by the grotesque and excessive posters now so frequently displayed; and in the end the law would do no injury to the advertisers themselves, because it would act evenly and in due proportion for all.

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The President's Son The whole country has shared in the anxiety felt by the President's family because of the very serious illness of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., at Groton, Mass. That the people of the United States constitute one great community is brought into clear light whenever a misfortune befalls any section of the country, or when the shadow of a sorrow rests upon any public leader. The sympathy with Mr. Roosevelt has been warm and genuine, and, except in the case of a few sensational newspapers, which respect neither childhood nor age, sorrow, suffering, nor death, the interest of the Nation has been manifested in a perfectly wholesome way. The President has been compelled, on account of this illness, to defer his visit to Charleston, for which great preparations had been made, and where he would have been received with the hospitality characteristic of that delightful city. It is understood that the visit will be made at an early date, now that the President's son is better.

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The Ohlange Industrial School The American committee of the Industrial School at Ohlange, Natal, South Africa, has just issued an interesting statement concerning the work there of the Rev. and Mrs. Dube. Mr. Dube's father was one of the first native pastors of the American Board (Congregational), and was highly valued for his character and labors. The son is a man of striking physique, of good ability, energetic and efficient as a pastor and industrial worker. None of the missionaries of the Board are officially connected with his school, but all are interested in its progress, looking upon it as marking a new epoch in the development of the Zulu people. With the subsiding of the Boer troubles a school building has been finally finished. Nearly two thousand people attended the opening exercises, some of them having come no less than three hundred miles to see the school. They were particularly interested in it because Mr. Dube, a Zulu, one of their own people, heads the enterprise. The school numbers now about a hundred enrolled pupils; and the first building—undoubtedly the nucleus of others—consists of a long, low structure, providing school, dining, recitation, and bed rooms. The building is insufficient to accommodate the number of pupils applying, and in fine weather some of the classes are held out-of-doors. Much of the necessary furniture is being made by the school-boys. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Dube, there are two native teachers, Mr. Mdima and Mrs. Msweli, who have had long experience in this kind of work. The tuition is twelve dollars for a term of four and a half months; this sum covers the cost of food only. No greater charge could be made, for the people are poor, and the boys are expected to work half a day. They find employment on the farm in connection with the school; thirty acres of land have been plowed and planted with corn, potatoes, beans, nahlubuzi (ground-nuts), and mangoes. Orange, banana, and peach trees have also been set out. Mr. Dube's lectures on farming have inspired many of the natives to

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cultivate the ground; he has also shown them, by means of plows and grain-drills outside the house and sewing-machines inside, how American machinery lightens labor. The Industrial School is only a part of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Dube, who carry on as well a day-school, Sunday-school, and church. All these efforts have a social as well as religious value; they teach the natives to acquire such evidences of civilization as the proper appreciation of food products, the sanitary advantages of houses over huts, the comfort of beds as compared with sleeping on the ground and the covering of nakedness. The salaries of the four workers are met in part by the Natal Government; the rest must come either from the natives or from friends in America. Those who wish to aid in this excellent endeavor may send remittances or reading matter to Mr. Louis Stoiber, 722 Broadway, New York City.

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The Philippine Problem

II.—Not Independence but Interdependence

A great deal of the current discussion respecting the Philippines tacitly assumes without argument two postulates: one, that liberty and independence are synonymous, or at least that liberty necessarily leads to independence; the other, that independence is desirable and the lack of it an evil. Neither of these assumptions is justified either by political philosophy or by political history. The first assumption is stated by Dr. Schurman, in his recent pamphlet, sometimes in the one form, sometimes in the other—thus: "Liberty grows by what it feeds on, and moves rapidly to its goal, which is independence." "It is the nature of such continuous liberty to issue in independence." "In its highest potency, liberty and independence are one and inseparable." We are somewhat surprised to find a scholar of Dr. Schurman's eminence stating these propositions. We are not even able to understand what he means by them. A free State is a State in which every citizen is free to work out his own life in his own way so long as he does not interfere with the rights of his fellow-citizen. An independent State is a State over which no control or authority is exercised in any department of its national affairs by any other State. The one does not imply the other; the one does not depend upon the other. Russia is an independent nation and her people are not free; Canada is a free State and she is not independent. Spain was an independent nation under Philip II., Naples was an independent State under its Bourbon princes, but no one will assert that Spain and Naples were free States. Naples lost her independence when she became merged in Italy, and by losing her independence she became more nearly a free community. As The Outlook has heretofore pointed out, in our own Civil War the Southern States fought for independence and against liberty, and the North fought for liberty and against independence. In the formation of the United States Constitution the separate colonies deliberately and after much discussion surrendered their independence in order the better to secure and maintain their freedom. Indeed, Dr. Schurman's pamphlet itself shows, curiously enough, that precisely this same controversy between independence and freedom has been going on in the Philippines; that the Philippine Republic deliberately voted to lay aside the idea of independence and accept American sovereignty in order to secure liberty; that it was thereupon overthrown by a military *coup d'état* in the spring of 1899; that since that time "there has not been even the semblance of a Philippine Republic; all clean gone are its congress, cabinet, president, and other civil officers; while the opposition to the establishment of American sovereignty has proceeded . . . from the lust of military power and oppression, and from the spirit of robbery and brigandage." If at that time the United States had complied with the demand of the so-called anti-imperialists and sailed away from the Philippines, it would have sacrificed liberty to independence; since that time—whatever may be said of events before—the American people have been fighting for the liberty of the Philippines against a military despotism which demanded independence for the sake of "robbery and brigandage."

So far is it from being historically true

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that liberty moves toward its goal, which is independence, or that it is the nature of continuous liberty to issue in independence, or that in its highest potency liberty and independence are one and inseparable, that the exact reverse is the truth. Liberty has moved steadily away from independence; it has been the nature of continuous liberty to substitute for independence interdependence, and interdependence, not independence, has ever been the goal of liberty. The independent States of Italy have taken a long step toward freedom by substituting interdependence for independence; the independent German principalities have become a German Empire, in which, if there has been no gain, there has been no loss, to liberty; Canada and Australia are both freer and more prosperous because they and their mother country are united in one world empire, which has grown into its present proportions during the last century; the Christian nations of the world have taken one step toward a universal interdependence by the establishment of the International Tribunal at The Hague, and they have done this in spite of arguments which the advocates of national independence brought against the plan; in the New World the greatest war of the century, the beneficent results of which are now recognized alike by both the combatants, has proved the incomparable advantages of interdependence over independence; and in the Pan-American Congress all the independent States of North and South America, except Canada, have been seen groping after some form of interdependence. In the light of this history we interpret the possibilities of the future. What we see is the interdependence of all the communities over which the American flag now floats: not their isolation, as separate, feeble, unprosperous, and alternately anarchistic and despotic communities; not their subjugation by a stronger Nation holding them in subjection for purposes of spoliation; but their combination under the sovereignty of the United States, to whose strong arm they look for protection, to whose wisdom gathered from centuries of experience they look for guidance. We see Cuba, and the Danish West Indies, and Porto Rico, and Hawaii, and the Philippines, all become truly American territory, in which local self-government is maintained under American sovereignty, in a union not dissimilar from the union of Canada and Australia with Great Britain, formed for the same purpose as the union of our States, in order "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty."

It is not necessary for us here to formulate any definite plan by which such a combination of communities, each possessing all the prerogatives of self-government in local affairs and all subject to the sovereignty of the United States in their common interests, can best be brought about. The plan proposed by the Filipinos themselves, which is contained in the memorial of the Federal party to Congress, as reported on another page, affords a very good basis for consideration. The American territorial form of government affords an excellent suggestion for the form of government to be adopted. Some material modifications would, however, probably be advisable. A majority of the Senate should, for the present, probably, be appointed by the President; perhaps they should all be appointive in the beginning. There should be no promise, express or implied, of Statehood. It is one thing to guarantee the Filipinos local self-government under American protection and sovereignty; it is quite another thing to invite them to take part in governing the American people. But we are not here undertaking to outline a plan for present adoption. Plans for present adoption we outlined last week. The first step toward such a union as we here hint at is the establishment of peace in the Philippines under American sovereignty; the second is the election by popular suffrage of an Assembly able to represent the people of the Philippines. Further adjustment of the relations between the Philippines and the United States can safely be left to follow. Such adjustment must be a growth, not a manufacture. All we wish in this article is to show our readers that there is something better to be desired for the Filipinos than independence; that something is a close and vital relationship with the United States and under its sovereignty. The wishes of the so-called anti-imperialists for the Filipinos are too meager. The Outlook

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hopes for them far greater things; and in this hope we believe that we do but imperfectly represent, not only the unformulated aspirations and expectations of the great body of the American people, but also the desires of an increasing body of the Filipino people.

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England and Japan

Attention is once more drawn to the Far East by the announcement of an alliance between England and Japan, which may have a very important bearing on events in that part of the world in the near future. By the terms of this agreement, which was signed in London on the 30th of last month, "the Governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East, and being, moreover, especially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations," agree as follows:

The two nations, recognizing mutually the independence of China and Korea, declare themselves to be uninfluenced by any aggressive motives in either country. Having in view their special interests in the two countries, they propose to take such measures as may best safeguard those interests whenever they are threatened either by the aggressive action of other Powers or by disturbances arising in Japan or China which necessitate the intervention of either party to the treaty for the protection of the lives and properties of its subjects. They agree that if either Great Britain or Japan, in defense of its interests, becomes involved in a war with another Power, the other party to the treaty shall maintain strict neutrality and use its best effort to prevent other Powers from joining in the hostilities against its ally. If, in such an event, any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, then the other party to the agreement will go to its assistance, and will conduct war in company with it. The two nations agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with any other Power, and that whenever, in the opinion of either of the countries, the interests of Great Britain or Japan are jeopardized, the two nations will communicate with each other frankly and fully. This agreement is to take effect immediately, to remain in force for five years, and to be binding for a year after either party denounces it. It is signed by Lord Lansdowne, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, and by Baron Hayashi, the Japanese Minister to Great Britain.

Lord Lansdowne, in his despatch to the British Minister at Tokio, by way of interpreting the treaty, says that it is the desire of both Great Britain and Japan that the integrity and the independence of the Chinese Empire shall be preserved, and that there shall be no disturbance of the present territorial status either in China or the adjoining regions; that this contract between the two countries was made, not for an aggressive purposes, but as a measure of precaution, and that it does not threaten in any way the present position or legitimate interests of other Powers.

The publication of this agreement has made a deep impression on Europe, and, so far as can be judged by public utterances, a very favorable one. It is interesting from many points of view. It involves the formal recognition of Japan as a great independent Power, and marks the emergence of that country among the great forces of the world—a result due to the extraordinary skill, genius, and persistence of a country which only forty years ago was almost as isolated as was Korea before the wall of separation was broken down from without during the recent war. It unites the two nations which are most powerful in the East; for the combined navies of Great Britain and Japan could command, without possible effective opposition, the China Sea; and Japan has so advanced her military organization that she could put an efficient army into Korea more expeditiously than could Russia. The treaty is formal notice served upon Russia that plans for further extension of Russian authority in the Far East must be, for the time being at least, held in check. That country is eager to add to her two ports on the Pacific—Vladivostok and Port Arthur—the command of the Korean Gulf. That she means to have it is beyond question, and that she is likely to get it is probable. Russian foreign policy

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moves slowly and can wait indefinitely; but, like the glacier, it moves with a kind of inevitable motion, slowly wearing away all obstacles. For the present, however, Russia must either halt or she must come into direct collision with both Great Britain and Japan.

The interest of the world at large in this alliance between Great Britain and Japan lies in the fact that it insures the integrity of China and Korea, and keeps the Open Door open. It is, in these important respects, a practical adoption by two great countries, with a command of armies and an irresistible navy, of a policy which the United States steadily insisted upon in the Far East long before the Boxer troubles began. It is so harmonious with the American policy that the Continental papers are quite right in assuming that the United States must be a silent and acquiescent partner in the transaction. Our demand is that China shall be protected from aggression and that the whole world shall have a fair and open field for commercial dealings with her. These two cardinal points in the American policy are apparently the ultimate aims which Great Britain and Japan have endeavored to secure by this mutual alliance.

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The Industrial Commission's Report

The report of the Industrial Commission appointed by the President over three years ago contains a vast amount of partly digested information regarding industrial monopolies, but few clear recommendations as to how the evils arising from monopolies may be avoided. The Commission, as required by statute, consisted of four Senators, four Representatives, and ten civilians representing different interests, and on nearly every subject their effort to unite upon a unanimous report seems to have resulted in the exclusion of everything which the most conservative would not assent to.

The first subject taken up is that of transportation, and the historical information presented here is extremely well digested. The attitude of the Commission toward railway combinations is one of defense rather than attack. The Commission, for example, holds that railway pools do not materially check the lowering of rates charged to the public, and it justifies the roads in charging two or three times as much for hauling one commodity as another, where the cost of service is the same, in case the commodity charged the lower rate would otherwise not be carried at all. In this last case, it says, there is no harmful discrimination against the product charged the higher rate, because the carriage of the other may leave a margin over operating expenses to help meet interest charges on the road. Nevertheless, the Commission recommends the passage of the pending Cullom bill increasing the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, except that it would not permit the Commission to establish a uniform classification of freights for the whole country. The attempts of the railroads at such uniformity, it says, have succeeded only by sections—Eastern, Western, and Southern roads each maintaining discriminations in favor of the products of those sections. The Industrial Commission, however, does not make it clear that these discriminations help the sections in favor of which they are made, for it appears that the products accorded low rates in the sections producing them are subjected to high rates in the sections consuming them. A uniform classification for all three sections would seem to be fairer to all. The important power which the Industrial Commission is willing to give to the Inter-State Commerce Commission is that of fixing rates which cannot under ordinary circumstances be set aside by injunction until a Federal Court after trial decides them to be unfair.

As regards manufacturing combinations, the Commission recommends that the selling of products at lower rates in one territory than in another, in proportion to the cost of reaching it, be forbidden, in order that competition may not be suppressed by unfair means. The Commission also recommends the restrictions of the Massachusetts law upon stock-watering, and would require greater publicity in the accounts of all great corporations, whether formed to restrict competition or not. Upon the subject of the tariff the Commission recommends the appointment of another commission to consider whether tariffs should be changed

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so as not to protect trusts. The Commission suggests that the small manufacturers would be more injured than the trusts, if both were exposed to foreign competition. Upon this point, however, one Commissioner, ex-Congressman T. W. Phillips, of Pennsylvania, submits a minority report in which he says:

> Out of 2,000 schedules of inquiries sent out, there were received only 416 replies, and only a very few of these replies came from corporations known popularly as trusts. (Vol. XIII., p. 726.) The fact that about 75 answers indicated lower prices abroad than at home is significant, when it is noted that more than four-fifths of those addressed failed to answer, and that naturally those who are chargeable with such discriminations would be the ones who would decline to reply.
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> Several witnesses before the Commission on behalf of the trusts admitted that their export prices were lower than their domestic prices, but they contended that this was necessary in order to work off their surplus and to keep their establishments running full time, and that all manufacturers in all countries do the same. This argument overlooks the fact that their surplus products could also be worked off by lower prices at home, and that it is the tariff which encourages them to cause a domestic surplus by restricting domestic consumption through high prices.
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> I do not agree with the statement in the review of the Commission nor with the statements of trust witnesses that the tariff should be retained in order to protect the small domestic competitors of the trusts. I hold that, apart from freight discriminations, destructive competition, and monopoly of raw material, the competitors of the trusts are able to manufacture and sell their goods profitably at prices as low as those made by the trusts, and that if they are not so able they should not be protected. If the trusts really have economies by which they can sell goods more cheaply, provided at uniform prices, than their smaller competitors, it is not in the interest of the public that the alleged more expensive methods of those competitors should be encouraged by the tariff.

The one Commissioner, we think, rather than the thirteen, represents the general attitude of the American public. Trusts are not to be discriminated against in so far as they serve the public better than individual manufacturers. If they can do this, they should do it, and the public should pass no law to hamper them in this work. When, however, manufacturers, whether in the trusts or out of them, sell to foreign consumers at lower rates than they sell to their own countrymen, their countrymen should at least have the right to buy goods at the foreign price, plus the cost of transporting the goods back to America. It is protection run mad to maintain a tariff to shield extortion.

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An Exhibition of Bad Manners

Probably very few people have read, or are likely to read, full reports of the speech made in Congress last Friday, by a member of that body from Kentucky, with reference to the courtesies to be extended to Prince Henry on the occasion of his visit here. One can imagine the smile of amusement with which the House listened to that extraordinary echo of a remote past, that astonishing revival of an infantile kind of oratory which has long since disappeared. It must have been like a sudden display of toys with which the House had played in its youth, but which, now that it has reached maturity, it has long put out of sight. As such it was interesting. It was so obviously out of key with the larger intelligence, the broader view of life, the nobler conception of democracy which prevails to-day, to say nothing of the general advance of manners, that it affords the opportunity of measuring the real progress of the country towards higher democratic ideals and towards a truer sense of human fellowship with the nations of the world. The attack on Mr. Hay was so preposterous that it defeated itself. Lord Pauncefote knows this country too well to attach any more importance to this survival of an antiquated mood than he would attach to the hanging of wreaths on the statue of Charles I. on the anniversary of that King's birthday. The allusion to President Roosevelt's family was so conspicuously bad in taste that, like a great many other breaches of good manners, it is to be noted only as indicating the lack of a nice sense of things on the part of the person who is guilty. The kind of social self-consciousness which the member from Kentucky displayed with reference to the courtesies extended by this country to rulers from abroad is in itself a form of flunkeyism. A well-bred man, quite certain of his position and free from the temptation either to patronize or to bully, does not confuse independence with violence, or

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imagine for a moment that, in order to preserve one's democratic ideals, it is necessary to be boorish. Whatever the American may think of other forms of government, he will not fail to be courteous to the representative of a great Power; and the fact that that representative happens to be a prince will not affect his hospitality or modify his courtesy. The man who is anxious to snub a prince because he is a prince is as far from the dignity of real democracy as the man who snubs a servant because he is a servant. It is hardly necessary to add that in delivering this ridiculous speech the member from Kentucky misrepresented a State which has kept from its earliest history a tradition of hospitality and good manners.

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Dream and Reality

The great square was thronged with busy people; little groups gathered and dispersed again without apparent reason or order; a murmur of confused sounds arose, some musical and many discordant; the noise of many kinds of work rose and fell with a rhythmic movement, in a unison which was without melody but not without dignity and power; the dust raised on the highways by many approaching feet hung over the place, and the smoke of great chimneys obscured the heavens; tumult, dissonance, toil, and weariness pervaded the place. Through the crowd an eager boy was trying to make his way. He had come from quiet places sweet with the breath of flowers; from the radiancy of soft skies, whence every night benignant stars had lighted his musings; from great dreams which moved across his mind as the clouds drifted across the heavens, vague and formless but full of fertility; from visions which were more beautiful than the world he saw about him but not different from it—sublime fulfillments of visible and audible promises of perfection, divine completions of realities. Out of the quiet valley in which the boy had played and shouted and taken the world into his heart, youth had led him up long and steep ascents to a great height, over which the sky seemed to bend, and from which far-stretching landscapes and a great city were visible; and there, in the breadth and clearness of his vision, the boy had come to himself and knew that the dreams which had encompassed his childhood were the foreshadowings of the truth he was to find and to impart, the beauty he was to see and to set anew in some fresh and appealing form; for a man cannot reveal the truth until he has found it, nor make beauty flash again on many eyes until he has looked into its soul, not as it floats, serene, ineffable, and flawless, in some distant heaven, but as it shines through the substance and shape of realities.

And so, led by his genius, the boy had come down from the heights into the market-place, for truth's sake and beauty's sake, and wandered about like a lost spirit, oppressed and bewildered by the tumult and disorder. The discords smote him like blows; the dust and smoke blinded him; the uproar and contention and ugliness pierced him like arrows. He shrank from the touch of the gross and palpable imperfection about him; his spirit cried out for the peace and serenity, the vision and beauty, of the valley where he had shouted in the joy of childhood, and the heights whence he had seen the things that were to be.

Presently, as he wandered, with infinite homesickness in his heart, he began to discern here and there touches of beauty, hints of loveliness, foregleams of perfection. And as his soul fastened upon these fragmentary glimpses of the world which lay in his memory, remote and inaccessible, a new note became audible in the tumult, a new meaning seemed to flash for a second over the vast, tumultuous disorder—a note prelusive and prophetic, a meaning born of some vast purpose slowly and mysteriously being wrought out with men and tools; with iron, clay, and wood; with trial and strife and agony; with love and sorrow and life and death.

As he caught this deeper meaning, borne in upon his spirit by the sighs and sobs and groans of men and women in that great multitude, his vision grew clearer and deeper, and he saw everywhere the signs and sorrows and joy of the work which every man does not only with his hands but with his soul; and slowly, through the dust and turmoil and smoke, he discerned the meaning of it all: the passing of truth into life, the

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birth of beauty, through anguish and sorrow, into visible form.

Then he understood that the perfection he had once looked upon, and which lay inviolate in his soul, had been wrought by Another; that it lay outside and apart from him and he had no place or share in its shaping. And so there came to him the discovery which comes to all lovers and makers of the good and the beautiful, to the creators whom men call artists, that the beauty in his memory was but a vision of delight until he made it real with his own hands in spirit or flesh or stone or wood. And the noisy place became still to him; and the crudity seemed about to take on noble shapes; and on the faces of his sorrowing, toiling fellow-workers he saw the image of God slowly dawning like a glorious morning out of mist and darkness as they touched the stuff of mortality with the power and beauty of the immortal.

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The Double Parentage

In a characteristic sermon on "The Mother's Wonder" Phillips Brooks brings out very clearly the double parentage of every child born into the world—the heavenly and the earthly parentage. Many fathers and mothers who are eager to advance the interests of their children never recognize this dual parentage. They treat their children as if these children were of their own making and they were the sole arbiters of their destiny, oblivious of the fact that the child is also of God's making, and that the heavenly Father must determine his vocation. There are few situations in life more pathetic, and often tragic, than those which are created by the inability of the father or mother to recognize the assertion of another authority than their own in the life of their child. Parents often have very definite ideas of what their child should be; they set their hearts on his developing a certain type of character and following a certain line of work; it often happens that the child develops a character of an entirely different type, and is passionately bent on following a different line of work. Instead of recognizing that the heavenly Father is expressing his determination in the very nature of the child, and his will for the child in its bent towards a particular calling, the human father and mother rebel refuse to accept the decision expressed in the mind of the child, insist upon his being something else and doing something else, make themselves miserable, sometimes fill the boy with despair, and occasionally drive him to ruin.

From the very beginning, parentage is full of pain. It is in pain that the child is brought into the world; for pain comes hand in hand with love, and without pain in some form there can be no love; for in every great affection there must at some time come the necessity of sacrifice. It is a painful thing for a father and mother when the child they have hoped for and expected develops into a child whom they hardly recognize, and the man they had counted upon to pursue some profession with which the family has long been associated, or to sustain some old family tradition, follows an entirely different line of life. The boy who was to be a minister almost breaks his father's heart by insisting upon becoming an engineer or an electrician; the boy who was destined to become a great lawyer, like his father and grandfather, insists upon becoming an artist. These collisions between the nature of a child and the will of the parent are always pathetic, and often create tragic situations. The parent refuses to understand, and the child cannot obey without disobeying his heavenly Father. It is in such crises that the earthly parent needs the very highest wisdom—the wisdom that shall discern that another will and a wiser one is working itself out in the life of the child; that a higher and a better plan is being substituted for a plan which has been very near the heart; that the child is being guided into the path for which its feet are fitted, and in which alone it may find happiness and fruitfulness.

We owe to our children, above all things, reverence for their individuality, room enough to let them develop, not according to our will, but according to the will of God as expressed in their temperament, their character, their taste, and sometimes their genius. He is a wise parent whose resistance stops the moment there comes an intimation that another will is being expressed; who puts behind him, with as little regret and pain as possible, the long-cherished hope, and accepts another hope in its place. If we really love our children,

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is not any specific type or particular ocation upon which our hearts fasten; it s the child himself; and to love the child s to seek the free expression of his own ature. It is in this expression alone hat he can secure the happiness which ve have at heart when we plan his future; : is in working with the tools which God as given to him, along the lines of least esistance, that he can manifest that power vhich we crave for him. The highest appiness of life has come a thousand imes to fathers and to mothers in the face of their passionate protest, obstinate opposition, and almost frantic determination hat a long-cherished plan should be carried out. The true attitude is not one of planning a child's life in detail, but of oving and hopeful expectancy, waiting on the disclosure of the will of the heavenly Father in the bent of the child's nature, and reverently following that will. The child whom God finally gives us is by free development often a divine exchange for the child whom we would have shaped for ourselves. Into His hands we must commit the destinies of our children; in this as in all things we must seek to fulfill His will, not our own.

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The Spectator

It is rather restful to stop for a moment, in rushing about New York, and watch the Italian workmen digging in the tunnel. They have such a leisurely, unworried, unhurried manner! They are mediæval in their sluggishness, even if the great steam-drills, the engineering methods, and the tools about them are modern. Slowly they dig and turn up the earth, and their every movement is typically southern Italian. Over their heads is the whirl of traffic and the rush of New York's intense, nervous commercialism, but these influences are utterly unfelt by them. The unskilled laborer remains but little changed through the centuries, after all. Mechanics and artisans improve in energy and skill, and industrial conditions improve likewise, but the man with the hoe and pick and shovel plods on, unheeding.

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History seems to show that in the thirteenth century wages did not average more than fifty cents a week, and then the best mechanics did not receive over eighty cents a week. In the eighteenth century the average was one dollar and ninety cents a week. To-day workmen in Europe average a little over four dollars, and the working time is reduced several hours each day. In the thirteenth century wheat was seventy cents a bushel, so that it took the earnings of over eight days' labor to pay for one bushel of wheat. To-day an average week's labor will purchase over four bushels of wheat. Meats have trebled in price during the past six centuries, but, to offset this, wages have increased sevenfold. The best workmen are found in countries where the highest wages are paid. American workmen, for instance, work far more rapidly for their high wages than do European or than mediæval workmen did. It is on record that during the reign of Henry VIII. one Thomas Nowelle "did mak and put in place, for his honeour Ye Squire Wyndem, of Greate Oke Manor, One plane Oke dore with chekes and sides.

		s.	d.
16 dais work.....	£1	2	3
Woods and Iron.....		5	4
Altogathere	£1	7	7"

Sixteen days' work, at a cost of five and a half dollars, for making a single door and frame and hanging same! A "plane" door in those days was simply what is known as a batten door, and the "cheeks" and "sides" meant the frame jambs and stiles. An American carpenter would take the stuff out of the rough, make the frame and door, hang the same, and finish up before the five o'clock whistle.

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But just here comes a significant difference between the modern American workman and the mediæval one. The modern door, so smartly made, would not be so well or so strongly done, and it would not last nearly so long as the "plane Oke dore." Most of the material and door "furniture" would be ready made, yet the comparison is interesting because it shows why so much of mediæval workmanship was so artistic. The modern workman is ruled by walking delegates and trades-unions, and his work is as

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mechanical and monotonously uniform as his machine-made implements and machinery. He does his work exactly and according to prescribed rules. The mediæval workman was never "driven," he was never in a hurry, he had leisure to develop into something of an artist and to originate those beautiful works of metal, wood, plaster, and stone which are models still for the mechanics of to-day. Yet the life and condition of the skilled craftsman is, of course, enormously improved, and his restless, energetic work and high wages bring comforts and even luxury to himself and his family. The improved condition of all the higher grades of society is largely the result of this high plane which the substrata have built for themselves. And as one looks over the wooden parapets on Fourth Avenue down into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado at Union Square and sees the grimy, leisurely Italians heavily and slowly moving about, and contrasts them with their nervous, alert Irish and American bosses, he has a little glimpse of mediævalism here in the midst of pulsing, electric, modern New York City, which is as significant as it is picturesque.

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At this point in the Spectator's reverie the blue cross-town car for which he had been waiting came along, and he boarded it, nodding somewhat absently to the conductor. "Thim tunnel-diggers is out of the wind down there," remarked that ruddy-faced official as the car rattled and lurched across the temporary bridge on Fourth Avenue at Eighteenth Street, "but I'd rather have my job above ground till I go down horizontal-like." "You have pretty long hours, haven't you?" inquired the Spectator, who remained on the back platform to enjoy the fresh air. "Not a bit of it," said the conductor; "jest easy and nice. I don't go on till six tin in the morning and am through at six tin at night, and have an hour's swing at noon. Each trip takes an hour from the ferry back to the ferry again, and I get over eighteen cints for it—jest two dollars a day." "And how much do you earn for the company?" "Well, this here car makes twenty-two or three dollars on its off days, and near thirty on Mondays and Fridays. Them's the days the most women come in from Jersey for shopping. The car averages twenty-four or five dollars a day cash, not countin' transfers." "You handle a good deal of money!" "Yes, but it's easier than handling bricks," rejoined the conductor, nodding to some masons at work at a new building we were passing. "Them fellers git good wages! Why, my brother-in-law is a bricklayer, an' he can hardly write his own name, and he gits his five dollars a day! No responsibility, no turning in correct accounts, just layin' bricks straight an' stiddy and his five dollars a day!"

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Five dollars a day for six working days a week makes thirty dollars—fifteen hundred dollars a year. The Spectator thought of several young men he knew who were college-educated and doing excellent editorial work on various papers and magazines for less. He thought of the years of training and experience, the power of judgment and the culture necessary to qualify them to receive as large a salary as that, and glanced with suddenly increased interest up at the rough workmen on the eighth story of the new building. "That feller that just got off," continued the conductor, "is a typesetter. He works nine hours and gets nineteen dollars a week. Them compositors is educated. They have to be, and they got to know somethin' about machinery too, nowadays. Nineteen dollars a week is pretty good pay, but I ain't kicking. I'm satisfied." He glanced quickly at the Spectator. The Spectator had a sudden and unpleasant thought. *Did* the conductor ring up that last fare he pocketed or not? He must have, yet— His face was open and cheerful. Was his optimism spontaneous and entirely natural? During the rest of the trip conversation flagged. Did the mason receive his larger wage because he laid his bricks "straight and stiddy"? The Spectator watched the man at his work narrowly, and saw not the slightest sign of anything dishonest. He rebuked himself inwardly; inwardly apologized to the entire class of American workmen represented by this blue-coated conductor, and, as he alighted, proffered him his best cigar.

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Anarchism: Its Cause and Cure

By Lyman Abbott[1]

THERE are three doctrines—if the first can properly be called a doctrine—which are quite distinct, but are often confounded in the public mind: those respectively of Assassination, Anarchism, and Socialism. The first is the doctrine that all rulers are criminals, robbers of the people, wild beasts, whom any man may kill at sight. To act upon this doctrine is to commit murder. Murder and counseling of murder are crimes; he who does either should be treated by society as either insane or as criminal. Crimes are not to be debated; they are to be prevented or punished. Insane men are not to be reasoned with; they are to be restrained. What methods should be taken to prevent or punish assassination of rulers, and what to punish or to restrain the criminal insane who incite to the assassination of rulers, is a question of criminal law which I do not propose here to discuss. It must suffice to say that this crime is not to be condoned as political, nor this class of criminals given a refuge as patriots, reformers, or even misguided agitators.

Anarchism is defined by E. V. Zenker,[2] in his monograph on the subject, as "the perfect, unfettered self-government of the individual, and consequently the absence of any kind of external government." It rests upon the doctrine that no man has a right to control by force the action of any other man. In its extreme form it was expressed by the declaration made by an Anarchist to me once at a dinner-table: "Of course I never think of giving my child a command." By its advocates Anarchism is defended on philosophic grounds: the sanctity of the human will, the inviolability of the personality intrenched in and expressed by that will, the immorality of attempting ever to overawe that will by fear or force of any description. Anarchism is defended on historic grounds: the evils are recited which have been wrought in human history by the employment of force compelling obedience by one will to another will, as they are seen in political and religious despotism, in the subjugation of women, in every form of brigandage from that of the Italian bands to that of the Napoleonic armies. It is conceded that evils might grow out of the abolition of all government; but it is insisted that they would be insignificant in comparison with the wrongs which have been perpetrated on mankind by the authority of government. Anarchism is defended on religious grounds. Jesus Christ is cited as the first of Anarchists; for did he not say, "Resist not evil: if one take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also; and if one smite thee upon the one cheek, turn to him the other also"? What is this, we are asked, but a denial of the right to use force even in defense of one's simplest and plainest rights?

Socialism, which is curiously confounded by the indiscriminating with Anarchism, is its exact opposite. Anarchy is the doctrine that there should be no government control; Socialism—that is, State Socialism—is the doctrine that government should control everything. State Socialism affirms that the State—that is, the government—should own all the tools and implements of industry, should direct all occupations, and should give to every man according to his need and require from every man according to his ability. State Socialism points to the evils of overproduction in some fields and insufficient production in others, under our competitive system, and proposes to remedy these evils by assigning to government the duty of determining what shall be produced and what each worker shall produce. If there are too many preachers and too few shoemakers, the preacher will be taken from the pulpit and assigned to the bench; if there are too many shoemakers and too few preachers, the shoemaker will be taken from the bench and assigned to the pulpit. Anarchy says, no government; Socialism says, all government; Anarchy leaves the will of the individual absolutely

[1] An address delivered before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York.

[2] "Anarchism: A Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory." By E. V. Zenker. 1897.

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unfettered, Socialism leaves nothing to the individual will; Anarchism would have no social organism which is not dependent on the entirely voluntary assent of each individual member of the organism at every instant of its history; Socialism would have every individual of the social organism wholly subordinate in all his life-work to the authority of the whole body expressed through its properly constituted officers. It is true that there are some writers who endeavor to unite these two antagonistic doctrines by teaching that society should be organized wholly for industry, not at all for government. But how a co-operative industry can be carried on without a government which controls as well as counsels no writer, so far as I have been able to discover, has ever even suggested.

If we are to deal intelligently with Anarchism, we must first of all comprehend it. For that purpose it may be well to consider its relations to certain modified doctrines which are more or less akin to it and with which we are not only familiar, but with which we have a greater or less degree of sympathy.

In the Middle Ages there was a substantially unanimous agreement among all philosophers that religious teaching, religious practices, and religious beliefs were subject to law. The individual was not left free to form and utter his own opinions on religious subjects, or to practice whatever religious rites suited his temperament, or even to entertain in secret whatever beliefs he chose. Conformity to the religious standards established by law was required under severe penalties, and this no less in Protestant England under Elizabeth than in Roman Catholic Spain under Philip II. This is no longer true. If we accept Zenker's definition of Anarchism, we are all of us, in the realm of religion, Anarchists—that is, we all believe in "the perfect, unfettered self-government of the individual, and consequently the absence of any kind of external government." Does any one think that the world is worse for religious Anarchism, as thus defined? Do men think less because law no longer formulates their thoughts? Have they ceased to worship because the law no longer punishes them for not worshiping? Is religious teaching less direct, less practical, less healthful and helpful because it is wholly left to "th perfect, unfettered self-government of th individual"?

In the Middle Ages the feudal syster prevailed throughout Europe. The labo ers were attached to some estate; the owed labor and allegiance to their lorc the lord owed protection and provision t his serfs. All industry was fettered nothing was left to the "unfettered self government of the individual." Feudal ism was abolished; freedom of contrac was introduced; the workingman was lef free to work when and where and how h chose; the employer was left free t employ whom and when and as he chose The fetters were taken off of industry. Th Manchester School proclaimed the doc trine of industrial Anarchism. For *laissez faire* is nothing more nor other than th doctrine that in industry everything shoul be left to "the perfect, unfettered self government of the individual." Th Manchester School is no longer in th ascendant; the doctrine of *laissez-fair* is no longer regarded as the panacea fo all industrial evils; society both in Eng land and America is swinging back to a doctrine of government interference in the realm of industry; law regulates chil labor, women's labor, hours of labor sanitary conditions of labor. My own belief is that legal regulation of industry will be carried further in the future than it has yet been. But the student of eco nomic history must recognize the fac that such thinkers as John Stuart Mil and Herbert Spencer in their views con cerning industrial liberty held what was very nearly a doctrine of industrial Anarch ism—that is, the doctrine that in industry everything should be left to "the perfect unfettered self-government of the individ ual, without any interference of any kind from external government."

Toward the latter part of the eight eenth century there grew up both in England and in France a doctrine of political government which, though not Anarchism, is clearly akin to Anarch ism and affords a premise from which Anarchism may be easily and logically deduced. This doctrine may be de scribed in a sentence thus: The state of nature was that of the "perfect, unfet tered self-government of the individual;" for the sake of real or supposed advan

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tages to be derived from organization, the individual surrendered some portion of this "perfect, unfettered self-government" to society; society derives its rights from this voluntary surrender by the individual; it is based on what Rousseau called a social contract; it is, in the words of Edmund Burke, "the offspring of convention." The extent to which this conception of the basis of civil society underlaid all discussions is curiously illustrated by a comparison of the writings of Edmund Burke, who represented the conservative liberals of England, and those of Thomas Paine, who interpreted to American readers the sentiments of the radical democrats of France. Edmund Burke wrote a letter which, under the title of "Reflections on the Revolution in France," has since become famous in English political literature. Thomas Paine wrote a reply to it, which, under the title of "The Rights of Man," has since become famous in American political literature. They took opposite sides respecting the French Revolution. Burke could find nothing severe enough to say in arraignment of the Revolution and its apologists; Paine nothing too severe to say in arraignment of Burke. Yet both not only started from the same axiom—that civil society is the offspring of a convention—but both employed the same illustration to make clear their meaning. Says Edmund Burke:

> One of the first motives to civil society, and which becomes one of its fundamental rules, is *that no man should be judge in his own cause.* By this, each person has at once divested himself of the first fundamental right of uncovenanted man; that is, to judge for himself and to assert his own cause. He abdicates all right to be his own governor. He inclusively, in a great measure, abandons the right of self-defense, the first law of nature. ("Reflections on the Revolution in France," Burke's Works, Vol. I., p. 481.)

Compare with this the declaration of Thomas Paine in his pamphlet written in reply to Burke, and see how he assumes the same premise, though approaching it in a different manner and for a different purpose:

> A man by natural right has a right to judge in his own cause; and, so far as the right of the mind is concerned, he never surrenders it. But what availeth it to him if he has not power to redress? He therefore deposits this right in the common stock of society, and takes the arm of society, of which he is a part, in preference and in addition to his own. Society *grants* him nothing. Every man is a proprietor in society, and draws on the capital as a matter of right. ("Rights of Man," Writings of Thomas Paine, Vol. II., p. 307.)

The doctrine of Edmund Burke and of Thomas Paine, that the basis of civil society is a convention or social contract, is no longer seriously entertained by any considerable number of the political scholars of our time; but its conclusions remain in popular thought, somewhat as the trunk of a forest tree remains standing long after the root has died and the tree itself no longer possesses vitality. On this doctrine is based the popular but fallacious saying that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. On this is based the doctrine that universal suffrage is a natural right and that just government cannot be exercised in the South except as it is based on the suffrage of the negroes; nor in our Northern cities except as it is based on the votes of newly arrived immigrants, who know neither our country, our customs, nor our language; nor in the Philippines unless the Filipinos are asked to vote upon it before it is possible even to explain to them on what they are voting. On this, too, is based the doctrine, not merely that a law cannot be enforced against popular sentiment, but that it *ought* not to be enforced against popular sentiment, since government rests upon convention, and convention upon the consent of all the people, and nothing is to be enforced against them except in accordance with their will.

From the doctrine that just government rests upon the consent of the governed it is a natural if not a necessary deduction that there can be no just government where there is no such consent. If we accept the premise of Edmund Burke that civil society rests on a convention, I can see no escape from the conclusion of the Anarchist that he has a right to withdraw from the convention. The argument is as short as it is simple, and I see no reply to it. It is substantially this: You say that the state of nature was a state of perfect, unfettered self-government of the individual; that society derives all its rights to govern the individual from a convention or social contract, by which he surrendered a part of this right of

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perfect, unfettered self-government for the benefits which were expected to be derived from a social order. I find no such benefits; I never subscribed to the convention; I never agreed to the surrender; my ancestors had no right to barter away my natural rights for advantages which I find illusory; I therefore demand the right to resume those natural rights, to resume that perfect, unfettered self-government; Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine agree that the right to judge for one's self and assert one's own cause is a self-evident and fundamental right of man; that he has consented to divest himself of this right, to deposit it in the common stock and look to society to judge for and to protect him; I decline so to divest myself, I decline so to deposit it; I propose to resume it and henceforth to judge for myself, to protect myself, and in all respects to exercise my own perfect, unfettered right of self-government. If society interferes with me, it can be on no other ground than that might makes right. To this argument of the Anarchist I can see no adequate reply, if the premise of the eighteenth-century philosophers be granted. But I deny the premise; I deny that civil society is the offspring of a convention, or that government grew out of a civil contract express or implied, or that man has ever divested himself of natural rights to enter into society or deposited them with society to protect them for him, or that government rests on the consent of the governed.

Law is the exercise of one will enforced upon another will. Government is a system of such laws enforced upon one will or aggregation of wills by another will or aggregation of wills. We are born into a world thus governed by law. It is not necessary for my purpose in this address to determine the question whether the laws by which nature is governed are the expressions of a superhuman will or not, although it seems to me that the evidence of a superhuman will afforded by the forces of nature is just as clear as is the evidence of a superhuman intelligence afforded by the contrivances of nature. For us at all events these forces of nature, acting in a regular and systematic manner, have all the effect of a will superior to our own and commanding obedience under penalty for infraction. These laws of nature we neither make nor unmake, nor can we modify them in the slightest particular. They are absolute and immutable, and they are wholly independent of our consent. They do not depend for their validity on our approval. Fire burns, water buoys, gases explode, steam expands, electricity flashes, light and sound waves travel entirely regardless of our suffrages. We can disregard these laws and live or try to live as though they did not exist—that is barbarism; we can fear these laws and yield to them a reluctant and unintelligent obedience—that is superstition; we can recognize these laws, endeavor to understand them, conform our lives to them, and by conforming to them accept the contributions which they offer to our life—that is civilization. But we cannot alter them in the slightest degree. We are subject to them; they are not subject to us except through our intelligent and willing obedience to them. We are similarly subject to the laws of our own body. We did not make them, we did not give validity to them by any compact or contract or convention or surrender. They *are*, and we must recognize them and obey them at our peril. Our will can determine whether we will obey them or not; but it cannot determine whether we shall be subject to them or not. We may disregard them and live or attempt to live as though there were no such laws. The result is disease, pain, death. We may wish they did not exist, and yield to them a reluctant, enforced, and sullen obedience. The result is hypochondria. We may recognize obedience to them as the condition of the largest life, and may study them only to conform ourselves to them. The result will be health, vigor, a manly frame. The one thing we can by no means do is to escape from their operation.

Similarly there are social laws—economic and political. They inhere in the nature of society. They come into operation the instant society comes into existence. They are as absolutely the laws of society as the laws of health are the laws of the body or as natural laws are the laws of nature. Man does not make them and cannot unmake them. He cannot modify them. Their validity does not depend upon his consent. Let me take the illustration which I have quoted above from Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine.

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There never was a natural right of an individual to judge for himself as against his fellow-man and defend his cause against any man whom he conceived to be an aggressor upon him. The law of society is exactly the reverse. It is expressed by Jesus Christ in the phrase, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." It is expressed by Paul in the phrase, "Vindicate not yourselves." It is the law of the social order that no man shall be the judge in his own cause; that he shall submit his cause to a disinterested person to judge; and that he shall not rely upon himself to defend himself, but shall rely upon society to defend him from the wrong-doer. On the recognition of and obedience to this law social order depends. If every man judges of his own cause and every man defends by his own arm the judgment which he has formed, social order becomes impossible; it ceases to exist. This law begins to operate just so soon as there is a social organism in which it can operate, as the stomach begins to digest and the lungs to breathe so soon as food is put into the stomach and air is put into the lungs.

The object of government is, or ought to be, to ascertain what are these inherent, essential, divine laws of the social order and conform society to them, exactly as the object of the individual is, or ought to be, to ascertain what are the laws of the body and conform his physical life to those laws. Governments are not organized to make laws; they are organized to ascertain what the laws are, and to supplement their self-enforcement by artificial enforcements. That we may know what are the laws of nature we employ scientists, explorers, discoverers. They do not make, they reveal. That we may know what the bodily laws are we employ doctors, physiologists, chemists. They do not make, they reveal. That we may know what are the laws of the social organism we employ congresses, courts of justice, teachers, preachers, and journalists. They do not create, they reveal. They cannot, all combined, create one least little law. They cannot, all combined, modify in one least little particular any law. All they can do is first to discover the laws which already exist, and then to say for the State whether it will obey the law or disobey it. Society is an entity and must in all matters that concern the social order act together; it therefore compels the obedience of the reluctant and the recalcitrant to the laws of the social order, as the will compels the teasing palate to go without the sweet which would please the palate but disorder the stomach, or compels the excited brain to lay aside its work and seek the sleep which it needs but does not desire.

Let us return to Zenker's definition once more: "Anarchy means, in its ideal sense, the perfect, unfettered self-government of the individual, and, consequently, the absence of any kind of external government." It means, then, what is absolutely impossible, what is almost unthinkable. Man is born into a physical world, and his self-government is limited very narrowly by the laws of the physical universe in which he lives. Let him try to fly like a bird or swim under water like a fish, and he will soon discover his physical limitations. He is born in a body the laws of which put further limits upon him. Let him decide that, in the exercise of his perfect, unfettered self-government, he will eat no more, and see what happens. He is born as a babe in a family. He is subject to the ethical laws of the first and most fundamental of all social organisms. And now, as the exercise of his perfect, unfettered self-government brings his will into collision with other wills—those of his parents, or of his brothers and sisters—he finds that other wills impose limitations upon his will—absolutely necessary limitations. One will or the other must yield. If the baby wishes to be walked with in the middle of the night and the father wishes to sleep, both cannot enjoy perfect, unfettered self-government; if the boy is walked with, the father does not sleep; if the father sleeps, the boy is not walked with. He is born into society, and in society his will comes into contact with other wills. If he and his neighbor want the same piece of property at the same time, one or the other must forego his perfect, unfettered self-government. Either the property must go to the one who proves to be the strongest, or society must find some way to settle the controversy, and each must accept the settlement. A man may disregard law, he may grumble at law, he may resist law; but he can by no possible means

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escape law. Law is the condition of life: physical law of physical life, bodily law of bodily life, social law of social life. We have absolutely nothing whatever to do with the question whether we shall be under law or not. We are under law, and we cannot help ourselves. Law comes neither from the divine right of kings nor from a divine right of democracies; it is eternal, immutable, divine; it proceeds, as Hooker has said, from the bosom of Almighty God.

What shall we do with Anarchism and the Anarchists? We are to protect society from assassins by whatever methods men wise in the penal code can suggest to us. But Anarchism is not identical with assassination, and the Anarchists are not necessarily assassins; what are we to do with those who are not assassins?

I. We are to treat Anarchism seriously; give it a patient hearing; answer it with fair and honest reason. However absurd it may seem to us, it is generally true that he who takes himself seriously is to be taken seriously by his fellow-men.

II. Such serious discussion will discover for us the secret of Anarchism in the apotheosis of humanity of which Rousseau was the prophet and of which Thomas Paine was the chiefest literary and Thomas Jefferson the chiefest political exponent in our early national history. If Thomas Paine was right in contending that the less government we have the better, it is not extraordinary that the Anarchist concludes that no government would be best of all. If Edmund Burke was right in supposing that the basis of civil society is a convention, the Anarchist is logical in concluding that he has a right to disown the convention. If man makes law, man has the power and the right to unmake it; if government rests on the consent of the governed, when the consent is withdrawn the government topples over. We need journalists to affirm, instructors to teach, ministers to preach the sanctity of law—its divine, inviolable, eternal sanctity; especially we need that our legislators should recognize the fact that they are discoverers, not creators; that they are appointed, not to make the laws of the social order, but to ascertain what those laws are, and to conform the life of the Nation thereto. For—

III. Whenever laws are enacted which violate the divine laws of life, they breed Anarchy. Anarchism is always a revolt against unjust and unequal laws. Let the legislators recognize the fundamental truth that what is an injury to one is an injury to all, and what is a benefit to the many is a benefit to all; let them seek only the welfare of all by their legislation; let them recognize the truth that law is divine and to set the Nation against it is to invite disaster and to conform the Nation to it is to insure prosperity, and we shall have little cause to ask, What shall we do with Anarchy?—it will disappear of itself. On the contrary, let legislators legislate for special classes, let them encourage by their legislation the spoliation of the many for the benefit of the few, let them protect the rich and forget the poor, let them estimate the prosperity of the Nation by the accumulation of its wealth, not by its distribution, let them intrench an industrial system which means long hours, little leisure, and small rewards for the many, and accumulation of unimagined wealth for the few, and men in the bitterness of their hearts will cry out, If this is government, let us away with it.

IV. But just and equal laws will not be enough without just and equal execution of those laws. Let the courts delay to administer justice, let the rich be enabled to keep the poor waiting till their patience and their purses are alike exhausted, let crimes go unpunished until they are forgotten, let the petty gambler be arrested but the rich and prosperous one go free, and Anarchism will demand the abolition of all law because it sees in law only an instrument of injustice.

The place in which to attack Anarchism is where the offenses grow which alone make Anarchism possible. Let us secure the just, speedy, and impartial administration of law, let us elect legislators who seek honestly to conform human legislation to the divine laws of the social order, without fear or favor, let us teach in our churches and our schools and through the press the divine origin, the divine sanctity, and the divine authority of law, and let us from this vantage-ground meet with fair-minded reason the wild cries of men who have been taught by the monstrous misuse of law to hate all law both

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human and divine, and our question will be solved for us, because both Anarchy and Anarchists will disappear from American society. The way to counteract hostility to law is to make laws which deserve to be respected.

Bossism in Delaware

From a Staff Correspondent

THERE is a prevailing myth that Mr. Addicks found Delaware innocent and made it corrupt, much as Mark Twain's hero corrupted Hadleyburg. Outside of Delaware this myth is almost universally accepted. Within the State, however, it is accepted only in select social circles, and even in these circles, outside of Wilmington, it is generally admitted that Mr. Addicks found conditions congenial to his methods.

A few months ago Mr. Willard Salisbury, the head of the Democratic organization in Delaware, contributed to the "Forum" a brilliant article—full of strong moral feeling as well as State pride—in which he declared that until a few years ago the use of money in Delaware politics "was nothing more than the recognition of the friendliness and earnestness of a political follower, and the custom had in it something that was patriarchal." "I remember distinctly as a lad having pointed out to me in Sussex County, as a specimen of the political degenerate, a man who was said to have been the first man who ever sold his vote, and I may add that that man had come from another State."

It was just after reading this idyllic picture of Delaware's unworldliness that the writer visited the capital of the little State. The first man whom I met spoke of vote-buying as a common practice with both parties, saying that the going-price of a vote in a closely contested legislative district a few miles out in the country had risen as high as thirty dollars, and that this price was reached because there were two bidders in the market, or rather because there were three, for in this district the regular Republicans fought the Addicks Republicans quite as hard as if not harder than they fought the Democrats. My second casual acquaintance gave testimony even more pointed. He was a well-to-do farmer, absolutely illiterate, as he told me to my great surprise; but in spite of that a man of more than common intelligence. Until a few years ago he had been a Democrat, but now was an uncompromising Prohibitionist.

When I asked him whether it was true that Mr. Addicks had introduced political corruption into his part of the State, he almost shouted at the idea that any one could have dreamed such a thing. "Why," he said, "don't I remember a few years ago when the Democratic tax assessor issued tax receipts to all the Democrats in the district, and then sneaked out of the State at night, so that the Republicans could not pay their taxes and get a chance to vote? You'd better believe I do. He was a man of my height and build, and drove a gray mare just like mine; and the Republican mob, whites and blacks, that were out after him, got hold of me, and I had a pretty hard time getting away from them. Addicks corrupt Delaware! No, indeed; I think he's done us good. He's just made us all see how mean we were."

This man was by no means a defender of J. Edward Addicks. Since Addicks came, he said, the amount of vote-buying had greatly increased and the prices paid had increased enormously, but Addicks, by the brazen effrontery with which he conducted his vote-buying, had half aroused the moral sense of the State, which had regarded with indifference the vote-buying that had gone on for years for the benefit of local aspirants.

This illiterate farmer's judgment of the situation I soon found confirmed by one of the most cultivated lawyers in Dover, a man who, had he lived in New York, would inevitably have been an active worker in some independent reform movement. For years, he said, the poorer farmers and workmen had been accustomed to look to the candidates for office, not only for the payment of their poll taxes so that they might vote, or for payment for any special services they might render, but also for merely taking the

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trouble to vote. These poorer voters, he said, never could aspire to any of the offices, and small money payments or presents of clothing or household supplies for their families came to be recognized as their share of the patronage which the whole political system was based upon. The methods were admittedly bad, but both parties used them, and no man connected with either party could prosecute such cases without getting into trouble as many of his own party associates as of his party opponents. The evil was tolerated, and its corrupting effect was felt in the lowering tone of public conscience and the steady growth of the abuse from worse to worse. Mr. Addicks, he said, had carried it to such a pitch that a feeling was now growing up among all self-respecting people that there must be a root-and-branch campaign for the extermination of bribery.

This, then, was the moral side of the situation, which conference with new people, opposed to Mr. Addicks politically, only made the more clear. When, however, I came to converse with Mr. Addicks's supporters, I found that there were other reasons for his political power besides the fact that he had and used a far larger corruption fund than any of his opponents. The man who put the Addicks side of the Delaware situation the most strongly was the head of his campaign committee, Dr. Layton, the Secretary of State. He began his conversation with me by saying that a few weeks before he had explained the situation to a newspaper man from another State, and the reporter had said to him, "I do not doubt that what you say is true, but I was sent to report the other side."

Despite this experience, he went over the situation again. Mr. Addicks, he said, is popular with Delaware Republicans because they like him personally, and because he "redeemed" the State for them. When the hard times came after Cleveland was elected, "we thought there was a chance to 'redeem' Delaware, and we tried to get some of the old leaders to advance the money necessary to do it; but not one of them was willing to undertake the job. All they seemed to care for was to dispose of the National patronage when the Republicans carried the country without Delaware's aid. We then went to Mr. Addicks, and he agreed to take hold of the work of building up a strong Republican organization in the two lower counties. [Delaware has but three counties, and the two lower ones were the Democratic strongholds.] He gave his time and his money to this work, and it was solely by his efforts that the Republicans carried the Legislature in 1894. We felt that he had bought this victory and was entitled to the fruits of it; but the aristocrats up at Wilmington, who were glad to have him buy the State, wanted themselves to take the offices his money had purchased. Instead of being better than J. Edward Addicks, they are a great deal worse. We thought it was an outrage, and we refused to vote for any man except Mr. Addicks for the United States Senatorship. In the last Senatorial campaign it was the same thing over again. The Republicans in sympathy with Mr. Addicks carried the two lower counties for the Republican ticket. We stood for the principle that the majority of the party have a right to control, and the regulars refused to accept it. We have asked the regulars to enter a general Republican primary with us, but they refuse wherever we are in the majority. I don't know that Mr. Addicks ever can be elected to the Senate; but the fight now isn't so much for Mr. Addicks as it is for the control of the Delaware Republican organization by the mass of the party voters. We have organized on those lines. We arrange all our nominations in such a way that the Republicans of the district or the county or the State shall say who their officers shall be, and we shall continue to fight for this principle, no matter how often it puts the Democrats in power."

Dr. Layton insisted upon this point with so much force and enthusiasm that I came to understand what I had been told before—that in Dover the division between Addicks and anti-Addicks Republicans was a social division rather than a moral one. The Republicans of wealth were all anti-Addicks, but among the middle-class and working-class Republicans men of good moral character in all other relations of life were almost as likely to be supporters of Addicks as to be his opponents. Mr. Addicks had been the organizer of the poorer class of Delaware Republicans in the two southern counties. He has given to these classes their first sense

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of political power. Delaware has always been an aristocratic State. It was overwhelmingly Federalist when Democracy under Jefferson stood for equality, and it became overwhelmingly Democratic when Republicanism under Lincoln stood for equality. In the two lower counties the families of wealth and social position remained, as a rule, Democratic until the election of 1896, and the Republicans were almost exclusively very plain people. They were in the minority in every class except among the negroes until Mr. Addicks furnished them with the organization and the money through which they were placed in control. Even if he should pass away, his organization would for a while survive. He has obtained the loyalty of the socially unrecognized classes in much the same degree that Tammany Hall obtained the loyalty of the recent immigrants in New York; and his power, like that of Tammany, rests quite as much in the social democracy for which he is believed to stand as in the political corruption through which he carries close elections.

Mr. Addicks's personality aids his lieutenants in the peculiar fight they are making for him. Even at Wilmington I had learned this from one of Mr. Addicks's political opponents. "It does not do," he said, "to dismiss Mr. Addicks with the word corrupt. That word describes the moral character of the man, but leaves one in total ignorance as to his personality, which is attractive to those who do not judge men according to moral standards. Even on the side of morality Addicks has many attractive qualities. He has no bad habits. He uses no tobacco or liquor, and his speech is absolutely free from profanity. His enemies say that he is absolutely dishonest, but if questioned they also admit that he is persistently courageous and uniformly courteous. Nothing can ruffle his even temper. No amount of personal abuse can surprise him to passionate resentment. Meeting a prominent regular Republican in the narrow hallway of a public building, he reached out his hand with friendly greeting. The regular Republican drew himself up and said, 'I cannot shake hands with a traitor." Quick as a flash, with nothing in his manner or tone to indicate that he had been insulted, Addicks replied, 'Perhaps you will give me room to pass.' In addition to these qualifications for a successful political career, Addicks is intensely democratic in his intercourse with men. The humblest and most disreputable member of his party will receive from him the same consideration and courteous treatment as a National committeeman. He is at all times generous in his use of money. He is easily approached, and, if he does not really care for his fellows, he gives every external manifestation of so doing. These things have been carefully kept out of the public press, but the masses know them by heart, so that nine out of every ten of the masses are violent personal partisans of Addicks.

"A close observer of the parade at the last Republican National Convention in Philadelphia saw the whole Delaware political situation in the contrast between the regular Republicans and the Addicks sections of the parade. The regular Republicans were better dressed, more intelligent, and had fewer negroes in their ranks. Their candidate for Senator was not in the parade. Aside from the bands (and it ought to be noted in passing that Addicks had hired every band in this State for the occasion), the Addicks contingent presented a decidedly disreputable appearance, but they greatly outnumbered the regular Republicans, and, disreputable though they were, Addicks was not ashamed of his supporters, and did not imagine for a moment that his place was anywhere except at the head of the men who were to vote for him."

The rule of Addicks, therefore, represents democracy as well as plutocracy. What my friend said about Mr. Addicks's apparent love of his fellows was illustrated by my only chance conversation with a Wilmington workingman. "Why are we for Addicks?" he said. "Because he is a man who loves his fellow-men. . . . If anybody is in trouble, Mr. Addicks is the man he can go to for help." Miss Addams has pointed out that the ward bosses in Chicago hold their power by filling the rôle of a local Providence to all who are in any need, using for this purpose the funds they have secured by the grabbing of franchises through which the wages of the poor are plucked. Mr.

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Addicks has dealt in franchises so successfully that he is able to fill the rôle of a local Providence for an entire commonwealth. His direct payments for votes probably bring him fewer supporters than his generous gifts to people in trouble. At the same time, his direct payments for votes have been on a scale without parallel in any State but Montana. Dr. Layton's defense of Mr. Addicks only made the more vivid the truth of the charges brought against him in the matter of vote-buying. Dr. Layton, it is true, charged the regular Republicans and the Democrats with using sums almost as large as those contributed by Mr. Addicks, but he admitted the use of money by his own faction to an extent such as no political manager in the worst wards of any of our great cities would ever think of admitting. He furthermore spoke as if opposition to this sort of thing was the hypocritical opposition of those unable to carry it on. "Talk about the use of money in elections! Who would have been elected in 1896 if it had not been for the use of money? Then what is the use of talking against it?" It was necessary, he believed. It was what eminent respectability had welcomed when it had helped them, and only complained about when it was turned against them. All of his statements showed the exact truth of what my friend in Wilmington said—that it was the brazenness of Addicks's corruption that aroused the opposition to him. In the late Legislature Mr. Addicks secured support for his system of corruption from legislators who were unwilling to vote for him as a candidate. The preceding Democratic Legislature, realizing that the wealth of the State was now, for the first time in a generation, against their party, had passed a ballot-reform law, which prevented the vote-buyer from going into the polls with the man he bought, to see that the corrupt contract was fulfilled. The Addicks faction in the last Legislature secured enough support from the ranks of their supposed opponents to pass a Voters' Assistant law, by which corruption could be sure of success. By this statute every voter can take an adviser with him into the polling-booth. When I asked Dr. Layton how many of his party would take the "assistant" with them into the booth, he replied, "All of them." "Will you?" I asked. "Certainly," he replied; "I shall do it as a matter of party discipline." In other words, even the well-to-do and intelligent leaders of the Addicks faction will take a voter's assistant with them into the booths in order that the men who have been bribed may be assigned an assistant without proclaiming the fact of their purchase. If any worse law has been passed in any State, not excepting Pennsylvania, the writer has never heard of it; and in the passage of this law the Addicks supporters got help from outside their own ranks.

Nevertheless, it is to be said in conclusion, the revolt against Addicks is a revolt of conscience, and the regular Republicans who refused to vote for Mr. Addicks for the United States Senate, even at the cost of losing two United States Senators for their party and for their State, are deserving of all praise. Mr. Addicks, as the illiterate farmer had told me, had shocked the State by using for his own advancement the corrupt methods that had been previously tolerated, and by carrying the corruption to such a pitch that the dormant public conscience had been awakened. The protest that has been stirred, however, must not be allowed to expend itself simply in decrying J. Edward Addicks. It must be directed against the system of vote-buying which gave to Mr. Addicks's money its political power, and it must also recognize the claims of the poorer people to a voice in the direction of public affairs. The struggle for purity must not have even the appearance of a struggle to restore the supremacy of the aristocracy. Addicks is likely to remain as supreme as Tammany so long as he can make the under classes believe that he understands and cherishes their interests and aspirations and that his opponents do not. What is needed by the reform forces is a leader who will stand for democracy, whether a democrat of democrats, like Lincoln, or an aristocrat by birth and a democrat in feeling, like Jerome. The work which is to overthrow the Addicks machine in Delaware is bound to be the work of men who will appeal to the hearts of the under classes as effectively as the present anti-Addicks leaders have already appealed to the consciences of the well-to-do.

C. B. S.

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The Results of the Pan-American Congress

By Thomas R. Dawley, Jr.
Special Commissioner for The Outlook

NOTWITHSTANDING the differences and rather petty disputes and jealousies existing between the representatives of some of the countries, which led some hostile critics to prophesy the disruption and utter failure of the second Pan-American Congress, the Conference has finally closed its labors with many demonstrations of satisfaction and extreme good fellowship. Latin and Anglo Americans have embraced each other after the true Spanish fashion, literally throwing themselves into one another's arms; and even Chili and Peru forgot all their differences in the general good feeling of relief and joy at the close of the final session of the Conference.

If only a single step has been made in bringing the nations of the Western Hemisphere closer together, it cannot be said that the labors of the Conference have been fruitless. A decade in the life of nations is but a small factor, and if only a step be made within that decade towards the nation's advancement, it cannot be said that the time is lost.

The Conference held at Washington twelve years ago has been frequently judged a failure from the single fact that out of the many resolutions adopted at that Conference only one was ever ratified by the corresponding governments; but the result of the ratification of that single resolution in the establishment of the Bureau of American Republics has been sufficient reimbursement for all the time and money spent. And if only one of the twenty resolutions or recommendations adopted by the Conference just closed meets with a result equal to that single one which grew out of the first Conference, it cannot be said that the second International Conference has been a failure.

Among all the questions discussed, arbitration was given the most importance, but the adoption of the plan already outlined in The Outlook, gratifying as is the movement in this direction, does not necessarily mean that there is no danger of future wars. Peru, the country most pronounced for obligatory arbitration, is in fact quietly building up, planning, and procuring means to rehabilitate a powerful army, and she only awaits the time when she thinks she is sufficiently strong to sweep down upon the Condor of the Andes, Chili, and settle by force of arms all old scores; while Chili, on the other hand, knows full well that if she does not keep up in the race, if she does not maintain a superior army, she will certainly have them to pay.

"Yes, we want obligatory arbitration," said a representative of one of the countries to me, "because we are little, and it is the only arm of defense we have got. If a big man hits me," he went on to explain, "I am perfectly willing that a bigger man settle the dispute, but if it's a little man I have a quarrel with, I can settle it myself without anybody's interference. And that is all there is to arbitration. While we are small and weak we want arbitration, but when we feel that we are strong we don't want it."

Of the twenty projects adopted, those of actual importance to the life and development of the nations may be considered as few, and perhaps one or two may be judged even as puerile, as they were passed upon, perhaps, simply out of good feeling to some delegation which thought it had a beneficent purpose to accomplish.

Taking them in the order as they come, first is the recommendation for a Pan-American Bank, to be aided in every way possible compatible with the internal laws of the signatory powers. In adopting this recommendation it was stated that financial transactions between the United States and many of the countries had to be done through London, and consequently there was need of an International American Bank at New York, with agencies in all the principal cities of the Republics. Delegate Matté, whose family is said to be the Rothschilds of Chili, said

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that if bankers had not already found business sufficient to sustain such a bank as that proposed, the only practicable method of aiding such a bank would be the granting of a subsidy for its establishment. Mexico declared that such aid was unconstitutional to her laws, and although Chili read the Mexican law proving that banks were actually aided by the National Government of Mexico, nothing more than the recommendation of aid was passed.

The Pan-American Railroad, which comes next, is indeed a great project, although it may strike the observer as a scheme having in it a certain amount of unfairness. If we consider that half of the railroad uniting the American countries has already been built by private capital, and the other half, proposed to be built, is to be aided by the Governments, it appears that we are to have in the near future a Government-aided railroad to compete with actual existing railroads which have been constructed under great difficulties solely by private means. Some equitable adjustment of this problem should be possible. A preliminary survey was made during 1893 and '94 by the International Railroad Commission, from the northern limit of Guatemala to the northern limit of the Argentine Republic. The report of this Commission shows the practicability of constructing a railroad from the north to the south over the greatest obstacles possible to conceive, great portions of it through unexplored territory, a distance of 5,456 miles, at a cost of $32,000 per mile, or a sum total of $174,290,271. As a permanent committee has been provided for by the Conference, and called on by its President to meet at Washington within a year to further the project, the probabilities are that this project will not be allowed to lie dormant.

The resolution providing for a Custom-House Congress appeals to any one who has ever had to do with customs authorities in some of the Republics as one of the most remarkable strides yet undertaken to bring about a uniform system through which the arbitrary rulings of incompetent or dishonest officials may be under some sort of control. It provides for the meeting in New York of technical experts composed of one or more delegates from each country selected from its collectors of customs, consuls, presidents or members of Chambers of Commerce, prominent business men, or others possessing special technical knowledge of custom-house business. The subjects which it is proposed to have this Congress cover are uniformity in the entrance, discharge, and clearance of ships; uniformity and simplification in customs rules regarding ships' manifests, bills of lading, consular invoices and declarations; simplification and uniformity in custom-house rulings for the inspection of merchandise and baggage, and adequate measures for establishing a common nomenclature of products and merchandise of the American Republics in Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French. The plan further provides for a uniform system of declaration of goods, for shipping merchandise through any of the countries in bond, and for the permanent organization of an international customs commission for the simplification and facilitation of mercantile traffic.

The fourth resolution passed by the Conference provides that the different Governments send regularly to the international office of the Republics all information and statistical data which it is possible for them to obtain regarding their respective populations, natural resources, manufactures, commerce, and all else which may be judged as tending towards the increase of the economic relations of America. The office of the Bureau of American Republics is charged with securing, classifying, and publishing all this data.

The fifth project is a simple agreement by the signatory powers to exchange with one another all public documents of a parliamentary, administrative, or statistical nature, including maps, topographical surveys, etc. Then comes a project for an international copyright law. The seventh project provides for the appointment of a Commission of five American and two European jurists to codify an international law, to be subsequently submitted for ratification by the respective Governments.

The eighth project is a treaty for patents of inventions, drawings, models, and trade-marks, granting to the citizens of each of the signatory States equal rights in procuring the same. The ninth is a treaty of extradition and protection against

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Anarchy. It gives a long list of crimes for which the accused shall be extradited, including Anarchistic acts, but really makes no further provision towards the suppression of Anarchy.

A convention regarding the exercise of the liberal professions provides that the citizens of the countries subscribing thereto may exercise their profession in each other's countries, the contracting Governments keeping one another informed of such universities or colleges whose diplomas are acceptable.

A very interesting project is that providing for an International Archæological Commission. Commissioners are to be appointed by each of the Governments, to meet at least once a year. They are empowered to appoint sub-commissioners charged with conducting explorations and the preservation of the prehistoric cities scattered over the American continents, and the establishment of museums containing the objects discovered.

Another resolution provides for measures to be taken into consideration by the International Customs Congress, looking forward to the better facilities of commerce between the Republics, such as uniform port charges, facilities for unloading and loading ships, etc.

Still another resolution provides for the reorganization of the Bureau of American Republics. This is considered by some of the delegates as one of the most important acts of the Conference. The Bureau is charged with the care of the archives of the Conference, and is to be sustained by the Republics according to their respective populations.

The sanitary project provides for a uniform system of sanitary policing in the different countries, quarantine rules and regulations, and the establishment of an International Sanitary Office.

A project to grant equal rights of citizenship to all foreigners from any of the countries forming the International Union was adopted by all the countries represented with the exception of the United States, which abstained from voting. This is one of the platonic projects which will never be ratified. Hayti, for instance, although she cast her vote in favor of the project, has a clause in her constitution prohibiting any one's becoming a citizen unless he be of negro or Indian origin.

A resolution was carried providing for a third International Conference, to meet within five years at some place to be designated by the diplomatic representatives at Washington. Although no hint is given in this resolution of the proposed place of meeting, Buenos Ayres is the city which most of the delegates seem to think will be selected for the next meeting of the Conference.

There is also a resolution, made at the suggestion of Señor Lazo Arriaga, of Guatemala, appointing a committee to meet in New York for the purpose of investigating the continued low price of coffee, which has caused great ruin and financial loss in his country, and to devise, if possible, some remedy.

The nineteenth project is an agreement as to pecuniary damages suffered by citizens of one country residing in another; and the last is the arbitration plan which has been the cause of so much discussion, and which appeared on several occasions as the rock upon which the Congress was about to be wrecked.

On the afternoon of Thursday, January 30, farewells were said by a number of the delegates on the floor of the Congress. The Dominican delegate, Henriquez Casbajal, in a few words expressed the policy of his government with respect to arbitration, and stated that he believed the time would come when the saving principle of arbitration would be universally accepted. Complimentary remarks were uttered by Delegates Carbo, of Ecuador, Léger, of Hayti, General Reyes, of Colombia, and Foster, of the United States; and a final speech was read by Señor Raigosa, the Chairman, after which he stated that there would be a closing session on the following afternoon, to which the friends and families of the delegates and their secretaries were invited.

The closing exercises took place after a sumptuous banquet given at Chapultepec by the Peruvian delegation, and included a farewell speech read by Señor Mariscal, Mexico's Minister of Foreign Relations. Afterwards the delegates were received by President Diaz, of Mexico.

City of Mexico.

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The Children's Side of Divorce

By Laica

THE comments of the press not very long ago upon a marriage in the fashionable world of New York, one of the contracting parties to which had just procured a divorce, make evident the fact that a great danger long threatening this country has passed beyond the stage of mere alarm.

When the Protestant Episcopal Church, lately in convention at San Francisco, failed to take action upon this question, it postponed for six years any advance by a great Communion. As a member of that Church I deeply deplore her lost opportunity, but as a wife and mother I dare not fold my hands and wait without protest in hope that, in the next few years, she will rise in the might of right and do the great share possible to her to check this awful and insidious evil. That it is possible for the Church to do a great deal in checking the evil is proven by the fact that few men and almost no women who wish to enter into these marriages are satisfied with the civil ceremony only, though it is entirely legal. When their own rector refuses to perform the church service for them, they go about from clergyman to clergyman, and sometimes from denomination to denomination, till their end is gained. Now if the Protestant Episcopal Church would join with the Church of Rome and the Methodist Church, admitting the necessity sometimes for divorce but absolutely refusing marriage to the divorced *under all circumstances*, the situation would instantly change. The Church would refuse to bless such unions, and society would then have the courage to refuse to receive such people.

All denominations will soon have to face this question and decide what their course of action will be; meantime, while they are pondering the problem, let us see if we cannot rouse one atom of popular feeling against this outrage by a simple statement of a few of the facts.

In the marriages of divorced persons a large majority are with the co-respondents or persons who might have been co-respondents. This fact requires no comment.

One whose labors in the divorce court make his statements upon all questions pertaining to them of great weight, tells me that in some hundreds of cases that he has known there has not been one instance when the woman has procured the divorce that she has not almost immediately married again, and but very few cases in which the man procured it that he has not done the same. Unless another partner has already been selected, a "legal separation" is all that most people require or desire.

It is not only the relation of the sexes that is involved in such marriages—what becomes of the honor of an oath, when even the Church disregards this most sacred and binding pledge, involving not only the good of life to two people but perhaps to many others? The present marriage service of the prayer-book must be changed if divorced persons are to be married by it, else perjury and sacrilege are added to doubtful morals.

Church laws, like civil ones, must be made for the greatest good of the greatest number, and if our Bishops, instead of having their hearts wrung by sorrows of a comparatively very few "innocent parties," would bestow a little tender thought upon the host of the true innocents of these situations—the unfortunate children of the dissolved unions who are thus furnished with second editions of fathers or mothers—there would not long be much doubt of the Church's attitude. Capital punishment and life imprisonment have not yet been abolished because of the awful possibility that now and then justice may miscarry and an innocent victim be punished instead of a guilty criminal. Neither can divorced people be allowed to marry on the ground that if they are not, an "innocent party" may now and then be deprived of the happiness of life in a more successful second marriage. True, it is hard that an innocent person must be deprived of happiness, but, just as an innocent victim may be sacrificed unintentionally for the good of the public, so, for the sake of public morals, a good and innocent man or woman needs must

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be deprived of the privilege of marriage where certain conditions exist.

That the Protestant Episcopal Church dare hesitate to avow her power to refuse marriage to those already married seems monstrous when considered with the words of her marriage service. How can any priest or clergyman stand up, and, calling God and man to witness, demand of the man and woman before him to swear, "forsaking all others, to keep thee only unto him (or her) so long as ye both shall live," if he does not mean it? How can he go on with the oath, "to have and to hold, for better for worse, etc., till death us do part," if he admits the possibility of either of them making that oath again to any one else during the other's life? It is concession enough to admit that, for good cause, the innocent should be released from the bonds of marriage legally; but if our priesthood assume the right to remarry, under any conceivable circumstances, persons they have once married, then by all that is holy are they bound to change the words of the service.

High ideals of home life are an impossibility under even the most decent circumstances of any divorced remarriage. And this is the strongest of all reasons against such remarriages. As our Puritan forefathers laid the corner-stone of the greatness of this Nation, so the purity of our mothers and the honor of our fathers have been the bulwark of each succeeding generation. To secure pure morals in the next generation, this generation must live cleanly; and a high moral standard is an impossible product of homes where there are "exchanged partners."

Mrs. M., divorced, and with a son, married Mr. N., divorced, having a daughter, who remained with the former Mrs. N., who had also remarried. At a dancing-school these children met. Said the little girl, "So you have a new father at your house, I hear." "Yes," replied the little boy, "and a jolly good sort he is, too—nicest chap I ever saw." "Pooh! said the little girl, "I know all about him; he was my father once." One can scarcely imagine a more pitiful conversation between children of twelve years, or a more tragic one. After hearing it and considering its possibilities, can any one say divorced marriages are not a danger to morals?

Twelve years ago a young friend of mine in New York, just married, called my attention to one name on her visiting list as that of a woman who had been divorced and married again within a short time. It was the only name of the kind on the list. Last summer the same woman, a fashionable young matron, told me that her list now had the names of thirty-two such cases!

In my own town, smaller than New York, I have counted up the divorced people I personally know. There are twenty-three cases. Of these, at least one out of each couple has married again, except in two instances, and of these two one died and the others are Roman Catholics. Ten years ago I knew one case, and it was socially ostracized. Ask yourself how many married divorcées you were likely to meet at dinner in one season fifteen years ago, and how many you meet now. And add to that one more question: were they treated then as they are treated now?

Of the twenty-three cases I have just mentioned as personally known to me, only one couple had no children; therefore the light went out in twenty-two homes, as far as "home ideals" to those children went. Allowing an average of three children to a family and twenty-two families, there will be in that small social world in the next generation sixty-six men and women minus much thought of home ties or their sacredness. Can any thinking person ask what will be the result on our morals? And do you want a boy born and brought up in such an atmosphere to marry your daughter? or the mother of your son's children to have been trained in such a school?

Miss A. becomes Mrs. B. In a few years B. is found to have been unfaithful to his wife, to have beaten her, and, partly for the sake of the children, she gets a divorce, and they are given into her care, although she gets the divorce on a nominal claim rather than incur the scandal of the Scriptural reason. Some years later a good man, C., wishes to marry her, and she loves him.

Miss X. marries Mr. Y., and in time is "unhappy." Mr. Z. comes into her life, and she finds *he* is the man she loves. At first, not being wholly bad, she fights against it for her children's sake; but after a time the husband becomes unbear-

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able (perhaps through her fault and lack of love), and she decides she "can't stand it." Presently she gets a divorce on grounds in which she appears altogether the innocent party—and then wishes to immediately marry Z. Mr. Y., not altogether bad either and loving his children, claims them part of the year, though the court gave them to their mother.

These are not extreme cases; and yet, for the sake of the real good of morals, must not such women as Mrs. B. be sacrificed to save standards from the havoc made in them by such as Mrs. Y.?

Recently Mrs. V., not wishing to be cruel to an innocent child, allowed her little ten-year-old daughter to continue her friendship with the child of an old friend who had divorced her husband in order to marry another man, despite the protestation of friends and relatives. The child was placed in the pitiful position of going to live with her mother in another man's house and making visits to her own father from time to time. Mrs. V.'s little girl said to her one night: "Oh, mamma, I am so sorry for Mary S.! She isn't a bit happy, and I asked her to-day if she didn't wish she could go back and live with her mother and father the way they used to be, and she said no, she didn't; she wished she could go away all alone with her mother, for she just hated all these fathers; her own must have done something awful, for her mother would never speak of him; and her new father gave her heaps and heaps of things, but she just *hated* him because he wasn't her *own father*. And, mamma, how can Mary's mother have two husbands, when she promised in church she would have but one? Mary and I don't understand."

The heart of all parenthood must throb with a great pity at the thought of the children of such second marriages as we have spoken of, as the heart of all lovers aches with pity for those whose love-light has faded and left behind only unendurable fetters. But the children, ah! the children have come with no volition and have no redress, and their rights are only the rights we give them, and they cannot claim them for themselves!

An unwritten but universally accepted law forbids the marriage of those suffering from horrible mental or physical disease, for the sake of the *possible* children; why are we less careful in such cases of moral leprosy as divorced marriage threatens? For the sake of the *actual* children, are we not bound to take some measures for their protection? We must see that they get their rights.

Smoke Abatement in Large Cities

By Charles H. Benjamin

Supervising Engineer

THE crusade against the smoke nuisance in this country is of a comparatively recent date. A hundred years ago, when most of our population was confined to the Atlantic seaboard, with its extensive forests, wood was the almost universal fuel, but our forests were slaughtered so recklessly that within the past fifty years wood has become scarce and dear, except in the wilds of Maine and the newly settled regions of Minnesota and Wisconsin. The use of bituminous coal is of even more recent origin, since the early mines in eastern Pennsylvania were mostly anthracite or semi-bituminous.

As the center of population moved farther west, more and more reliance was placed on the soft coal fields of the central States, with their almost illimitable area. It is safe to predict that bituminous coal will be for years to come the principal fuel for factories and large business blocks, its price being but little over half that of hard coal. In certain thickly settled districts, particularly in the heart of our larger cities, it may be possible to enforce the use of coke and smokeless coal, but no amount of legislation could ever compel the general use of such expensive fuel.

The problem, then, which we have before us to-day is that of burning ordinary soft coal with the least possible amount of smoke. It may be said at the outset that the total prevention of smoke

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from this class of fuel is an impossibility, and that no city where bituminous coal is burned will ever be as clean as those where the use of anthracite is insisted upon. The Eastern cities will have the advantage, since they are so near the anthracite coal fields, and have but to make early and strenuous efforts to keep out the smoky coals of the central States. In cities like Chicago, Cleveland, and St. Louis, the smoke evil is already a gigantic fact which must be met and grappled with, so that the war becomes one of offense rather than defense.

The first plan which naturally occurs to the municipality is that of prohibitory legislation, or stringent laws against the production of black smoke, which shall be enforced by the city police, with suitable penalties for infraction. Such laws are a part of the municipal code of nearly every Western city. In some they are entirely a dead letter, no attempt being made to enforce them; in others spasmodic efforts are made from time to time to carry out their conditions. In some instances the city ordinances have been so arbitrary and unreasonable in character that they were declared invalid by the courts; even where the ordinance has stood the test of trial, the defendant companies or corporations have often found it more profitable to carry the case from court to court, with the probability of its being ultimately knocked out, than to acquiesce and pay the fines. Whatever the outcome of these prosecutions, the effect on the smoke evil has been very slight. One of the causes of failure seems to be common to nearly all of our cities: namely, the fact that the office of smoke inspection, whatever its title, has been usually one of the political "plums" given, without reference to fitness for the office, as a reward for partisan service.

The city of Cleveland first established a department of smoke inspection in 1883, and the agitation against smoke has been carried on in an intermittent sort of way ever since. In the early days the inspector acted only on complaints, then served legal notices on the offenders with some definite time for abatement, usually thirty days. As far as the records show, this usually resulted in nothing, as there are only three prosecutions recorded in a period of nine years, two defendants being fined the costs, and one ten dollars and costs, with the sentence suspended. The records of abatement usually read "partially abated." The column of remarks is full of good promises, but there is little to show any improvement. During the past five or six years several test cases have been tried in the courts with very poor success, some of them failing in the police courts, the judge declaring the ordinance defective or the evidence inconclusive. Others dragged along for years and were finally thrown out by some of the upper courts. Whatever reduction of smoke occurred during this time may be attributed, not to legal measures, but to a growth of public sentiment, and to the voluntary introduction of improved furnaces as a matter of business economy or civic pride.

The subject was carefully investigated by a society organized for that purpose, and considerable educational work was done, which has shown its results. About two years ago the Municipal Association of Cleveland appointed a committee of five, principally manufacturers, to investigate the matter and report. The members of that committee held a number of meetings, and made a careful study of the subject in all its bearings. As a result of their investigations they decided that methods of legal process had proved a failure; that a campaign of education and argument would be more effective; that the matter should be put into the hands of a new department which should be organized for this express purpose, and that the chief inspector should be appointed by the Mayor for a term of not less than five years to insure the removal of the office from party politics. This committee secured the passage of a law by the Legislature which should meet these conditions, and in July, 1900, the writer was appointed supervising engineer. The department as at present constituted has a working staff consisting of a supervising engineer, three assistant engineers, and a clerk. This is rather too small a force for a city of the size of Cleveland, but it was thought better to have the number of appointees too small rather than too large.

It seemed advisable as a beginning to get a comprehensive view of the situation, and to know at first hand the condition

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of each chimney, so as not to be dependent upon the complaints of inexperienced and careless observers. A canvass of the city was immediately begun, and a card index started to show the number of boilers and kind of furnaces in use at each establishment, together with such other data regarding fuel and working force as might be useful. This list has just been completed, and shows for the city of Cleveland over a thousand distinct plants operating nearly twenty-two hundred steam boilers. About the same time a series of systematic observations was commenced to determine the smoke record for each chimney. Some citizens have felt inclined to criticise the observation part of the scheme, claiming that it was merely guesswork, but any unprejudiced person will readily see that observations made by a trained engineer day after day will give a much better idea of the smoke situation than can be had from the casual observation of the ordinary individual.

The city being divided into districts, some favorable observation point was selected from which all the principal chimneys in the district could readily be seen. The inspector stations himself at one of these points, takes readings from each chimney once in five minutes, and records the rating on a blank prepared for the purpose. In all one hundred such readings are taken, covering a period of about eight hours, from eight o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon. To make the average still more reliable, these observations are divided into two-hour periods, taken on different days. The readings are then averaged on a scale of one hundred, the latter per cent. meaning dense black smoke. A report is then immediately sent to all of the firms interested, showing not only their own standing, but that of their neighbors. In case the smoke average is too high, the report is accompanied by a letter urging immediate attention to the subject, and this is followed in a week or two by a personal visit from one of the inspectors. The idea is to urge better equipment, both from the standpoint of interest in the welfare of the city and from that of fuel economy. It is easy to demonstrate the saving of fuel by reference to actual examples near by.

In nearly all cases the inspectors are courteously received, and promises to investigate are made. But this is not the end; unless the subject receives immediate attention at the hands of the firms visited, their attention is called to it again and again by letters and visits. Some of them immediately set about remedying the difficulty, while others wait until they find that the department really means business. It has taken in many instances a year of this work to start some of the proprietors in the right direction, and there are still many that are holding back. An improvement of this kind, however, gains momentum as it proceeds, and, like the rolling snowball, increases in weight more and more rapidly as it goes on. Like all reforms which affect the pocketbook, this one moves slowly, and there is much to discourage, but, on the whole, the influence is far more effective than that of coercion. There is comparatively little of that feeling of antagonism and opposition which is so frequently aroused by the use of legal process.

The case of the railroad engines offers a striking example of the advantages of the educational campaign. Previous to the institution of this department notices had frequently been served upon the railroads with orders to abate the smoke within thirty or sixty days. Of course no attention was paid to these admonitions, and nothing could have been done in the time indicated. As soon as practicable, the city appointed an assistant engineer who had been a railroad man of long experience, and who was familiar with all the ins and outs of locomotives. This inspector has devoted all of his time to the railroad problem. Meetings were held to confer with the officials of the various roads, and to get their advice in the matter. A meeting of representative engineers and firemen was also held, and their views ascertained. It was the unanimous opinion of both superintendents and engine men that a great improvement could be effected by the one-shovel system of firing, with proper attention to the opening and closing of the doors, together with such aid as might come from brick arches and combustion tubes. The inspector watches the locomotives as carefully as the other engineer does the stationary chimneys, although the method is of necessity somewhat different. With

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out going into the details of the work, it may be said that the reports of this inspector, which are sent in every two or three days to the railroad officials, are so satisfactory and so reliable that they feel like proceeding against offenders at once. In some cases crews have been suspended, in others merely warned. The reports have been posted in the roundhouses and in other places where the crews could see them, and most of the railroads have appointed inspectors and traveling engineers to instruct the firemen of the engines in the best methods of stoking. The result can be best shown by a comparison between the records of March, 1901, and those for November of the same year:

	Mar.	Nov.
Cleveland & Pittsburg Railroad..	28%	8%
C. C. C. & St. Louis Railroad ...	35%	13%
Erie Railroad.....	35%	12%
N. Y. C. & St. Louis Railroad....	35%	10%
L. S. & M. S. Railroad.....	34%	11%
C. T. & Valley Railroad.....	20%	11%

Each of these rates represents an average from some twenty-five observations on different engines. This improvement is due solely to improved methods of "firing" resulting from the efforts of this office in cooperation with the officials of the railroads.

Work with tugs and other boats on the river has but just begun, but there is no reason apparent why similar improvement cannot be made in this direction. The large manufacturers and the superintendents of the railroad lines are practically unanimous in their approval of the method now in use, and say that it is the only rational way to attack the problem. The fact that during the time since this movement was inaugurated, in July, 1900, over two hundred smokeless furnaces of various sorts have been installed shows a good rate of progress. The further fact that, almost without exception, new power plants are properly equipped shows that the next five years will make a decided change for the better.

Woman in the Golden Ages[1]

THAT the first woman's club was founded by Sappho is one of the many interesting and, to some of us, new things which Amelia Gere Mason tells in language so delightfully easy that we do not realize until we have finally laid down "Woman in the Golden Ages" how much we have learned as well as enjoyed in the hours we have spent with her. In the home, the club, the senate, the university chair, the court, the pulpit, the convent, and the salon we find woman gracing and ennobling each relation.

Mrs. Mason frankly takes a brief for her own sex, and strengthens every argument and deduction in her favor by the impartiality with which she sets forth the rights and excuses of the other side. From the woman in Greek poetry to the woman of the literary courts she works out agreeably and convincingly the genesis and evolution of woman's present position in the enlightened world, claiming that the highest type of woman to-day—granting differences of race and condition—is modeled upon the lines of those other women separated from her by centuries of civilization, tyranny, decadence, corruption, learning, genius, art, and religion. Denounced by the earlier poets and held in contempt by the dramatists, the moral force of the best types of women presented by the Greek poets centers in their almost superhuman immolation for the men to whom they were bound by ties of blood or marriage. Iphigenia, Alcestis, Antigone, are sacrificed on the altar of men's selfishness, whether it be in the name of religion or the State. Though the sex received greater consideration in the heroic age, mind had no part in the estimate; the supreme distinction was a moral one. It is not until the time of Sappho that woman is recognized as an intellectual force, and then the very greatness of her gifts cuts her off from the society of the Greek wives and daughters, whose first lesson is not to learn, but to listen "in silence and subjection." The founding of the first club, the difference between it and nineteenth or twentieth century clubs, Sappho's intellectual influence upon the girls and women of her day, her rightful place as

[1] *Woman in the Golden Ages.* By Amelia Gere Mason. The Century Company, New York.

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woman apart from her power over men and her greatness as a poet, the intimate relation which the standards and crass naturalism of the time must bear to every moral estimate of women, and the distinction drawn between Æolian and Doric genius, make one of the most interesting chapters in the book.

Indeed, it is Mrs. Mason's ability to compare, contrast, distinguish, and differentiate both in individuals and societies that imbues her with fresh and living interest. The Spartan woman she defines as "the Puritan of the classic world, without the Puritan conscience or moral sense, but with more than Puritan courage and fortitude," and contrasts her superior education, executive talent, and equality with the men of her own race against the degradation of the Athenian women, who, during the time of Aspasia and for many years before and after, were relegated to the place of ignorant menials. Aspasia herself, as the creator of the first salon, the companion and counselor of Pericles, the woman who could discuss philosophy with Socrates and Anaxagoras, art with Phidias, poetry with Sophocles and Euripides, politics and history with Thucydides, and affairs of the gay world with Alcibiades, stands out in vivid outlines against a background of social corruption and feminine degradation as the first woman who modified the low views held by men regarding her sex.

The revolt of the Roman women shows us that the woman question is an old one, and gives us a revolting view of Roman marriage and divorce laws, or rather license; but it also goes to prove that "the women of two thousand years ago were far from accepting abject subservience without a protest; that they had the spirit and intelligence to combine in their own defense; that they won the privilege of virtually the same education which was given men, and so much consideration that the Romans of the third and fourth centuries were more just to a woman's rights of property than were the Americans in the first half of the nineteenth."

In the "New Woman of Old Rome" Mrs. Mason draws a parallel between the Romans of the last century of the Republic and ourselves, and also a contrast between the political wisdom and relative independence of the Roman and the American woman; and at the same time opens to us letters of Cicero, Pliny, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and Fronto which indicate the respect in which their women were held and the happiness of their family life. But though in the last days of the Republic woman had become a strong influence in the Roman home and Roman society, it was not until the days of Imperial Rome that she asserted herself as a political power—as a force to be reckoned with in the foreign as well as domestic policy of the Empire. The reaction of a large class of Roman women from the corrupt materialism of a civilization falling into ruin led to the establishment of the "Church of the Household," the first convent, and to the extreme asceticism that marks certain periods and phases of spiritual evolution. A chapter is devoted to the women who led in this movement, and to the religious houses and orders they established, with a carefully balanced summing up of the uses and abuses to which their enthusiasm gave rise, and an interesting analysis of the relative values of pagan and Christian womanhood.

No discussion of the "Learned Women of the Renaissance" could be complete without a sketch of Vittoria Colonna. That which Mrs. Mason draws is full and sympathetic; but she leaves room for much that is interesting about Olympia Morata, Cassandra Fidelis, Veronica Gambara, and other brilliant and learned women of Spain and Italy whose fame has been confined to their own countries and chroniclers.

In the chapter on "The Literary Courts and Platonic Love" we learn how conversation was cultivated as an art, and how Platonism—which was to sweep over the surface of society for two or three centuries—received its first impulse from men like Bibbiena, Guiliano de Medici, Cardinal Bembo, the Duke Guidobaldo, Castiglione, and the Fregosos, under the influence of the Duchess Elisabetta and Emilia Pia. The Court of Ferrara was gayer, but no less a center of culture. Here Lucrezia Borgia and the austere Renée ruled at different periods and in different manners, and among the men who flocked around them were Boiardo, Ariosto, Calvin, and Clément Marot. Here, also, Vittoria Colonna came in the interests of the eloquent Fra Bernardino,

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and also to enjoy the opportunity for free discussion of literary and religious matters. At the Court of Mantua Isabella d'Este was the presiding genius of a circle which numbered Titian and Leonardo da Vinci among its members; and at the Court of Milan Beatrice d'Este drew around her sunshine and happiness, and men like Bramante and Da Vinci.

The chapter on "Salon and Woman's Club" is a thoroughly fair and sensible discussion of the vexed questions of woman's work and woman's clubs. The analysis of the French woman and American woman, the parallel between the literary salon and the woman's club, the special distinction of American women, and the tendency of club and the charm of social life are treated in a way which merits serious consideration.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

American Immortals (The). By George Cary Eggleston. Illu trated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 8×11½ in. 432 pages. $10.

We have but one fault to find with this book. It is too sumptuously published for the ordinary reader with the ordinary purse. The illustration consists of portraits from rare paintings, engravings, etchings, lithographs, drawings, photographs, miniatures, and busts. The text is excellently done. It gives to us exactly the information popularly wanted concerning the character and achievements of each of the twenty-nine "Immortals" elected to the New York University Hall of Fame. Mr. Eggleston's book is thus a worthy supplement to Chancellor MacCracken's "Hall of Fame" recently issued by the same publishers. The "Immortals" chosen were Washington, Franklin, John Adams, Jefferson, Webster, Clay, Marshall, Story, Kent, Lincoln, Grant, Lee, Farragut, Washington Irving, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Emerson, Jonathan Edwards, Channing, Bushnell, George Peabody, Fenimore Cooper, Horace Mann, Fulton, Morse, Whitney, Gilbert Stuart, Audubon, and Asa Gray. In 1902 a supplementary election will occur to complete the list of fifty, the number of canonizations allowed. Perhaps then we may see such additions as Benjamin West, Elias Howe, Joseph Henry, and Phillips Brooks.

Baltimore Sun Almanac for 1902 (The). The A. S. Abell Co., Baltimore. 5×7½ in. 176 pages.

Basis of Social Relations (The): A Study in Ethnic Psychology. By Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Sc.D. Edited by Livingston Farrand. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 204 pages.

Ethnic Psychology is a descriptive science. It describes the psychical or mental characteristics by which races, tribes, and peoples are distinguished from one another. It defines these distinctive traits, explains their origin and growth, and exhibits their influence for better or worse. Such study of human progress or regress as the result of psychical causes is of large consequence to human welfare. The subject has not been unstudied, but no systematic treatise upon it has appeared till the present. While experimental psychology deals with individuals by experiment, ethnic psychology deals by observation with aggregates or *groups*—the term adopted to signify a number of people united by a common mind expressing itself in common habits and usages; whence the name "ethnic," from the Greek *ethnos*. To this ethnic, or group, mind, compact as it is of many wills for a basis of social relations, Professor Brinton ascribes no less reality than to a building compact of many stones, although the subjective reality of a purely mental creation. But amid all the variations of group-minds under the varying conditions of human existence the psychological unity of mankind is with him, as with most ethnologists, the accepted working principle. The multitudinous observations of human groups and of the causes that have put them in the lines of progress or regress, which are comprised in this concise and well-digested outline, carry their own ethical lessons, and make it a valuable contribution to the cultural history of man.

British Vegetable Galls: An Introduction to Their Study. By Edward T. Connold. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 7½×10½ in. 312 pages. $4, net.

This large and well-printed volume is the result of many years' special study and collection by an English scientist to whom the pursuit of these odd vegetable abnormalities has been a pastime. Mr. Connold systematically presents in full technical language a remarkable amount of information on many score of galls of many kinds, and illustrates his text with over a hundred fine photographs.

Cecil Rhodes: A Study of a Career. By Howard Hensman. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. 5½×9 in. 382 pages. $5, net.

This is a fine specimen of book-making. In paper, print, and especially in its superb leather binding it leaves nothing to be desired. The biographer writes frankly, almost naïvely, and with a certain direct vigor which might well attract any reader. The volume will undoubtedly attract many readers, and is in some respects a real contribution to history.

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After some chapters devoted to Mr. Rhodes's early life we come to the principal matters of interest, to the amalgamation of the diamond-mines, the expansion of trade and population towards Rhodesia, the difficulties with President Kruger, the Matabele war, the trans-African railway schemes, and the present war. The final chapter considers Mr. Rhodes's much-discussed gift to the Liberal party: one sees clearly that, though a Liberal, he is much more a Liberal Imperialist. At the end of the chapter on the present conflict Mr. Hensman says: "Thus ended his active interest in the war, though, needless to say, *down to the final close of hostilities* he followed events with the closest possible interest." Was the book to have been published after the close of the war? Perhaps Mr. Rhodes, with many others, has become tired of waiting.

Great Persian War and Its Preliminaries: A Study of the Evidence, Literary and Topographical. By G. B. Grundy, M.A. Illustrations. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×9 in. 561 pages. $5, net.

This fine volume, in which one of the still popular portions of ancient history is subjected to a fresh and critical survey, possesses high interest for all whom the story has ever stirred. The struggle of the Greek cities with the Persian Empire in the fifth century B.C. was a critical turning-point of the history of civilization. Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, are names still sacred to patriots the world around. But the modern critic is still needed to clear the historical facts of the accretions of legend, and to correct the distortions they have suffered in the hands of tradition. Even now fresh evidence is discovered, and the personal equations of the ancient narrators submit to correction. Herodotus, for instance, that "father of history," the debt of civilization to whom cannot, as Mr. Grundy admits, be exaggerated, though conscientious and painstaking, was not free from some distorting prejudices and from deception by misinformation. Recent topographical surveys of historical sites have thrown fresh light upon the studies of the critical historian. Consequently he is here occasionally at issue with the current version of affairs, and also with some opinions of scholars who have traversed the ground before. It should be added that a portion of the work in its original separate form received the Conington Prize Essay at Oxford in 1900.

Gospel of the Kingdom and the Gospel of the Church. By William B. Brown, D.D. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7½ in. 218 pages. $1.

Seldom does one of Dr. Brown's years produce a book. But such a product at the age of eighty-five, while showing all the vigor of earlier years, draws significance from the ripe experience of the world and change that has entered into it. Dr. Brown is no bepraiser of old times, but has grown with the world's growth, and is in full sympathy with the advance of Christian thought. He holds that Jesus' doctrine of the kingdom was dwarfed even in New Testament times into a doctrine of the Church. He weighs the good and evil resulting from this, and finds the evil preponderant. He recognizes the present renaissance of Jesus' larger gospel of the kingdom as including much not yet included in the Church. He traces the prospective evolution through struggles and crises which must bring forth the divine reality. The central note of his thought is the dominance of the religious ideal as the unifying element of all the interests and activities of life.

Gospel Story of Jesus Christ (The). By Ida W. Hutchison. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×7¾ in. 142 pages. $1.50.

To give to children "a book all their own" in which the story of the life of Jesus Christ is told in the simple, dignified language of the King James version, with the omission of such passages as are likely to puzzle childish minds, is an admirable purpose; and the work of editor, illustrator, and publisher in uniting to carry out this purpose has been discreetly and tastefully done. Whether the cover and the decorations of the woodcuts might be improved by simplification is a question to be decided largely by that personal preference concerning which discussion is hardly ever useful. But, however this question may be decided in individual cases, the influence of this book on any child who may own it can hardly fail to be wholesome. Besides giving him in clear, large type and in attractive dress the whole Gospel story in the words with which he ought to become familiar, it will also tend to associate in his mind religious conceptions with human interest and artistic beauty.

Infant Salvation. By M. J. Firey, D.D. The Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5½×7¾ in. 407 pages. $1.20, net.

The question involved in the title of this book has been the historical starting-point of the conviction, now diffusing itself in the modern Church, that the possibility of human salvation cannot be limited to the present life. Dr. Firey, however, believes that it is so limited. His problem is to ground on such a basis an assurance that all who die in infancy are saved. After an extended survey of the often melancholy beliefs that have prevailed during the Christian centuries he grounds his larger hope on "the passive state of the infant and the superabounding grace of God."

Kinship of God and Man. By Rev. J. J. Lanier. In 2 vols. Vol. I. Good and Evil. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7¾ in.

A special interest attaches to this volume as the presentation of some prominent features of the new theology by a Southern clergyman of strictly orthodox antecedents, evinced by his treatment of the narrative of the Noachian flood and by other vestiges of traditional ideas. He humanizes the doctrine of election as meaning the selection of some to convey blessing to all. He finds opportunities of salvation still open after death, and purifying processes there awaiting the imperfect. The forgiveness of sins is viewed as, not an act of amnesty, but a process of eliminating sin from the life through divine influences. The Incarnation is not an isolated fact, but realized in all who share the spirit of Christ. The entire creed of Christendom should be found in the words "Our Father." These views are set forth in an independent, free, and vigorous

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rather than cultured style, and the book seems to have a mission as a solvent of some stiff Calvinism.

Language and Metre of Chaucer (The). By Bernhard Ten Brink. Translated by M. Bentinck Smith. Second Edition, Revised by Friedrich Kluge. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 280 pages. $1.50.

This is the translation of "Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst" as revised by Kluge in 1899, a book admirable for the compactness and excellence of the chapters on Phonology and Accidence. The third division of the work, "On the Structure of Verse and Stanza," is not so valuable. It is not complete; the treatment of the roundel is cursory, and the author does not mention "A Compleynte to his Lady," which contains the only example of terza-rima in the English literature of that period. There is a misstatement of the form of the envoy to "The Compleynte of Venus;" the stanza has ten, not nine, lines, and the rhyme *b* corresponds to the rhyme *c* in the second triad, not in the third. The weakest part of this chapter is that the author has "failed to understand the effect of the cæsura and is much troubled by the occurrence there of extra syllables" (Skeat). In consequence, his discussion of elision is unsatisfactory, as six of the examples are lines where the cæsura prevents elision. We must note also the failure to recognize syncopation, or clash of accents, in the verse. We are glad, however, to have the first two chapters rendered easily accessible by the present volume. The translator has made the work of more practical use by adding references to Skeat's "Student's Chaucer" and Macmillan's Globe Edition of Chaucer.

Lenten Preaching: Three Courses of Sermons for Lent. By the Rev. Alfred G. Mortimer, D.D. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 227 pages. $1.25, net.

Except for the treatment of the mystery of suffering, which is human and helpful, and the parallel drawn between the Beatitudes and the Seven Last Words, which is ingenious rather than convincing, these sermons in cold print are unoriginal in thought, mediæval and scholastic in expression, and frequently exclamatory in style. However effective they may have been as uttered in ecclesiastical environment, there is very little to justify their appearance in book form.

Life and Work of the Redeemer (The). By the Rev. H. Donald M. Spence, D.D., the Rev. W. Alexander, D.D., the Rev. Professor Marcus Dods, D.D., the Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., the Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A., the Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., the Rev. W. Lefroy, D.D., the Right Rev. W. Croswell Doane, D.D., the Rev. James Stalker, D.D., the Rev. Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., the Rev. Alexander McLaren, D.D. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 340 pages. $2, net.

In spite of the array of eminent names on the title-page, this book is unsatisfactory. In the literature on the life of Christ there is need of a strong, sane, historical interpretation in a form available for the lay reader—somewhat like the admirable books that have in recent years been written concerning the Old Testament prophets. This volume merely calls attention to this great need. The inquirer who honestly wants to have the person and character of Christ made real can find no illumination from an article in which appears such a sentence as this: "But there must be no lingering question as to the truth of the miraculous interference with the ordinary course of nature—the several angel appearances, the work of the Holy Ghost in the birth of the Child, the star of the wise men . . . all this . . . must be received with adoring faith. Then all is easy, credible, conceivable"! Lingering questions cannot be thus easily disposed of by dogmatic assumption. This point of view, it should be said, does not appear in all the chapters. Indeed, a necessary defect in such a composite work is a lack of unity not only in style but in point of view as well. The best portions are those which are avowedly devotional and homiletical; but the tone of the writers, with two or three notable exceptions, is effeminate rather than virile.

Medici (The) and the Italian Renaissance. By Oliphant Smeaton, M.A. (The World's Epoch-Makers.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 286 pages. $1.25.

Reserved for later notice.

Meditations and Vows Divine and Moral. By Joseph Hall. Edited by Charles Sayle. (Religious Life Series.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4¼×6¾ in. 217 pages. $1.50.

This is the second volume in the Religious Life Series, and presents the work of a very interesting churchman of Shakespeare's time, who was Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich, who went through the excitement attendant upon the destruction of the Armada, and the earlier portion of whose "Meditations and Vows" were published when he was thirty-two years of age. He was a great lover of small books; and his own work now appears in a small and very well made volume. Thomas Fuller said of him that he was commonly called "our English Seneca for the pureness, plainness, and fullness of his style." Wesley thought him too labored and stiff, but Wordsworth read him with delight, and he was a great favorite of General Gordon's. Of the "Meditations and Vows" Bishop Hall says: "I made them, not for the eye, but for the heart." Under their quaint phraseology and somewhat archaic forms of thought they reveal a deeply meditative religious spirit.

Napoleon's Letters to Josephine, 1796-1812: For the First Time Collected and Translated, with Notes Social, Historical, and Chronological, from Contemporary Sources. By Henry Foljambe Hall. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 6×8½ in. 330 pages. $3, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Philippine Affairs: A Retrospect and Outlook. An Address by Jacob Gould Schurman. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×8 in. 109 pages. 60c., net.

Primer of the Christian Religion (A). By George Holley Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 76 pages. $1.

This handsome little volume seems well adapted for use in Bible classes and other gatherings for expository study of the New Testament. Its method is catechetical, in question and answer, eighty-five of them, arranged under eight separate titles. Subjoined to each question and answer are the

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proper Biblical references, and also a brief note, explanatory, critical, and suggestive, affording material for amplification by a teacher. Passing by much that is historical and doctrinal, it is limited to the great events in Jesus' life, and the great facts of his teaching. In freedom from technicality and theory it deals wholly with the essentials of Christianity and the practical interests of religion. The author's standpoint is well expressed by his remark that Jesus' declaration that the doer of his word is like the rock-founded house "news an even and straight way through the multitudinous creeds and theologies."

Prose Works of William Makepeace Thackeray. Pendennis: His Fortunes and Misfortunes. In 3 vols. Illustrated. Edited by Walter Jerrold. The Macmillan Co., New York. $3.

Public School Arithmetic for Grammar Grades (The). By J. A. McLellan, A.M., LL.D., and A. F. Ames, A.B. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 369 pages. 60c.

Rending of Virginia (The). By Granville Davisson Hall. Illustrated. Press of Mayer & Miller, 85 Fifth Avenue, Chicago. 5¼×8 in. 622 pages.

A profoundly interesting and important chapter in our National history. The author, a West Virginian by birth and a passionate lover of the principles of human equality which finally forced his commonwealth to separate from the Old Dominion, tells the story of the fierce conflict over secession with a spirit that gives his history an unusual charm. So far as we know, the history of this conflict has not before been written with anything like the fullness of knowledge or clearness of insight found here, and we therefore ask for the volume an attention which its ponderous form, scrap-book appearance, and minor defects as a piece of book-making might repel. The separation of western Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and the whole Appalachian district from the domain of secession was one of the controlling factors in preventing the division of the Union. And Mr. Hall's pages thoroughly explain the separation, showing that it had its roots in political and economic injustice to the scorned "peasantry" of the mountains during two generations before the secession ordinance gave the signal for the democratic revolt in favor of allegiance to the Federal Union.

Shadow Dwellers (The). By Robert Louis Freear. Isaac H. Blanchard Co., 268 Canal Street, New York. 5×7½ in. 157 pages. $1.25.

Spiritual Development of St. Paul. By the Rev. George Matheson. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7¾ in. 293 pages. 80c.

A new edition of a very intelligent study of the great Apostle. Full of spiritual insight and sympathetic interpretation.

Theology Old and New. By William Frederick Cobb, D.D. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 176 pages. $1, net.

Old theology here comes up for criticism and for restatement in new forms. In this process highly cultured thought and a spiritual mind are conspicuous. The Protestant Reformers were our pioneers. It is both our need and our duty to advance beyond them. Theology, though the necessity of intellectual beings, is incapable of finality. The intellectual task of the next generation will be in effecting a synthesis of the beliefs of this, while a leading place and more generous treatment will be accorded by religion to social problems. Advance in psychology also, while perhaps requiring revision of our conceptions of miracle, will put the relations of God and man on a more verifiable basis. Especially will the Christology of the twentieth century form itself on the line of practical religion rather than on metaphysical ideas. Dr. Cobb has undertaken to give to busy and perplexed men "the leading features of the theology which Christian bodies have either come to hold or are preparing themselves to accept"—a preparation, one may add, none the less real when unconscious. He writes as a Broad Churchman primarily for readers of the Anglican communion. His work may be strongly commended as an outline of the new theology to all who are interested in learning what it is and what its merits are.

Text-Book of Applied English Grammar (A). By Edwin Herbert Lewis. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7 in. 163 pages. 35c.

Thoughts from the Letters of Petrarch. Selected and Translated by J. Lohse. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4×6½ in. 147 pages. $1, net.

Admirable both in selection and as a translation. The pith of Petrarch as a moralist and epigram-writer is here, and those who associate his name only with the Sonnets will find a surprising amount of wisdom well expressed.

Typical Modern Conceptions of God. By Joseph Alexander Leighton. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 190 pages. $1, net.

Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Spencer, present in these pages the problem of the metaphysical conception of God from their partially complementary points of view, as the subjects of a criticism the principles of which are constructively exhibited in a concluding essay. This, to which one-third of the volume is devoted, is a compact and lucid presentation of the idealistic philosophy whose most distinguished expositor is Professor Royce. One whom scant leisure hinders from the intellectual treat offered in Professor Royce's massive work on "The World and the Individual" can get the essentials of it here in about sixty-five pages; though for the clearing up of obscure points, such as the antinomy between this time-world and the timelessness of the divine consciousness, he will have to refer to Royce.

Watchers of the Hearth (The). By Benjamin Sledd. The Gorham Press, Boston. 4×6 in. 84 pages. $1.25.

William. By W. W. Handlin. Paul J. Sendker Printing Co., New Orleans, La. 4×6 in. 268 pages.

Zriny. By Karl Theodor Körner. Edited by Franklin J. Holzwarth, Ph.D. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 4¼×6½ in. 126 pages. 35c.

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Correspondence

Another Good Example

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The article by Father Doyle in your issue for the 11th inst. on "The Rescue of a Neighborhood" reminds me that on this side of the continent also the Paulists have done good work in rescuing a neighborhood. Their task in San Francisco was all the more difficult that the "neighborhood" here was not respectable to begin with. It lay just adjoining "Chinatown," the worst part of a by no means angelic city, and was reached on two sides by streets that on both sides were composed of rows of disreputable houses. Just across the street from where they live was one of the most disreputable alleys in San Francisco, where immorality was as open and conspicuous as dry-goods stores on Broadway; yet the Fathers attacked the evil, and won a brilliant victory over the Pacific Coast "Billy McGlorys." Every disreputable house was closed, and for many months has remained closed, and money has already been voted to purchase the property for a public park, though, owing to legal technicalities, the amount is not yet available for that purpose.

What has been done in New York and San Francisco can be done in the other large cities of the country if the people will only will it. The police need only to be backed by the voters and they will do their duties. If they allow crime and sin to be rampant, it is generally because, by their supineness, the people practically indorse such a course.

San Francisco, Cal. J. F. C.

Insane Asylums

To the Editors of The Outlook:

My attention was called to an article this morning in The Outlook headed "Insane Asylums." I do not belong to the State of New York, and it would be presumptuous in me to even suggest what your legislation on the treatment of the insane should be; but I have been one of the Trustees of the State Hospital for the Insane at Warren, Pa., for the past fifteen years, and have during that time visited all or nearly all the asylums in your State and other States at different times, and therefore feel a deep interest in everything that pertains to the welfare of that unfortunate class known as the insane.

The hospitals for the insane in Pennsylvania are all under the management of local boards, known as "trustees." In each hospital in the State there are nine trustees, appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. Their term of office is three years, unless removed by the Governor for cause, and they serve without compensation. These trustees are, in fiction of law, supposed to appoint all the officers, attendants, and subordinates, but in point of fact, with the exception of the superintendent, assistant physicians, steward, accountant, treasurer, and a few others, this power is delegated to the superintendent, as he is on the ground and has the best opportunity of judging as to the qualification of the attendants. The salaries and wages are all fixed by the board of trustees. The business of the board is principally conducted by committees. For instance, we have an executive committee, committee on employees and salaries, committee on supplies, building committee, farm committee, committee on audit, weekly visiting committee, monthly visiting committee. Thus, some one or more of these committees is at the hospital every week and in constant touch with the management of the hospital and farm.

Now, as it strikes me, it would be suicidal to the proper management of these asylums to dispense with these local boards and substitute a paid central board at the capital of the State. Experience teaches us that if the local board had no other or greater responsibility than that of simply visiting the asylums and reporting their visits to the Governor, the results would be much the same as a board of school directors whose duty it is by law to visit the schools in their respective districts once a month, but who in fact as a rule are never in the schoolroom during their entire term of office.

There is always danger in the centralization of power, and this would be in-

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creased tenfold where both the requests as well as protests of the insane should pass unheeded. Worse than all this, it would surely lead to partisan control, when changes would be made with every new administration. The State of Ohio in years past has been a striking example of this evil. Cross-roads doctors with no qualification for their profession have in many instances supplanted physicians of learning and high standing in their profession, simply and on the sole ground that they had been able to manipulate the delegates in their township for some heeler in their party.

Mercer, Pa. S. R. MASON.

The Monroe Doctrine

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Mr. Edward Stanwood's defense of the Monroe Doctrine is doubtless as favorable a presentation of the principle as can be made. As he has done me the honor to quote somewhat freely from a circular of mine which I published anonymously—on the principle that the simple truth has dynamic force in itself—I would like to make brief comment.

Let me first correct his impression that the author of the circular belongs to what is known as the "Anti-Imperialist" party; but he *is* opposed to war for any and every reason save possibly for pure self-defense. The Doctrine, having no logical or international basis, is and will be a continual menace to peace, and even to arbitration, to which it is not amenable. In the Venezuela case war was narrowly escaped, mainly by the good sense of England.

The Doctrine is entirely diverted from its original intent, and has come to be a National fetich, a kind of compelling sentiment to which men and parties bow down. Other nations are "robbers," but we are to step upon the stage and play the part of a grand deliverer. It is dramatic Americanism *vs.* the world, with the scene laid three thousand miles away. I will not ask for space to elaborate this view, which might be done indefinitely, but only state the ultimate issue. The Doctrine means more than moral and diplomatic pressure, and even more than threats against other nations, if we are sincere. By any fair definition, it includes its own enforcement, and nothing less. Will Mr. Stanwood face the vital and logical question which will come sooner or later, and tell us if he would sanction a war against one or more Powers in its defense?

Cambridge, Mass. HENRY WOOD.

Some Personal Experiences

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The Spectator's experiences related in The Outlook for February 8 remind me of the following three instances which I experienced only during the last four weeks:

(1) In an elaborate collection of Maxims, with preface, dedication, and the rest, published by Brentanos, of "New York, London, Washington, Chicago, Paris," I find Saying No. 354 consists of just these three words: "Consider the lilies;" and the author of this "saying" is given—Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

(2) One of our Boston weeklies has a column, "The World Beautiful,' with which it is headed, in charge of an author of some repute. Two or three weeks ago this column was headed by the following quotation (perhaps a misquotation, owing to its truncated state) from the Bible: "This is life eternal, to know Thee!" and the author of this quotation is given as—Paul.

(3) In a work on Human Nature by David W. Mitchell, London, 1876, which the Boston Public Library thinks good enough to be placed among its permanent works of reference (Bates Hall, 632.26), the following is given among its quotations (also, alas! a misquotation): "When I consider *Thy* heaven (*sic*), the work of Thy fingers," etc., and this portion of the eighth Psalm is assigned to—Ecclesiastes.

I happen to have been born in the flesh in Russia, and my Russianity has in this country been made such a thorn in the flesh to me that I feel like running into a corner when my native land is mentioned. Two instances, twenty-five years apart, may interest you.

When a boy, I went into the New York Hotel to consult the directory. A gentleman who had been consulting it said something as he handed it to me. My reply must have attracted his attention by its foreign accent. "What nationality are you, may I ask?" "I am a Russian, sir." "A Rooshan? You are a Rooshan? Why, let me look at you!" In

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those days, when electric lights as yet were not, and gas probably too expensive by daylight, even the New York Hotel desk was rather dim by daylight, and my new acquaintance accordingly took me by the arm (not under the arm, either), led me to the front into broad daylight, and did get a good "look" at me. Boy as I then was, I actually thought that he had expected to find some kind of horns, or at least bristles, on me, for his disappointment was quite visible. I afterwards learned that this gentleman was not an ordinary ignorant or ill-bred American; no, he was a member of a celebrated banking firm of Philadelphia, New York, Paris, and London.

Some twenty-five years later the boy, who had meanwhile become a Lowell Institute lecturer and a writer of books on Tolstoï and others, had occasion to go to see a well-known lawyer about a client of his who had appealed to me for financial help. I had no reason to believe that the lawyer knew anything about me. He was attorney for several large corporations in a city of some sixty thousand inhabitants not far from Boston, was a member of the school committee, and what not. To my surprise, when our professional conversation was over he invited me to lunch, and there introduced me to several of his colleagues in the profession and school committee. "Of course you have all heard of Mr. Panin," he kept saying as he introduced me. I was at first puzzled, then I began to be embarrassed. But all of a sudden I learned that I was in the company of the author of "War and Peace" and "Anna Karénina." I could only see his reflection in the soup, into which I had to profess to look rather deeply and with head bowed rather low—lower than grace or even table manners require. I do not remember now whether I ever called on my host in acknowledgment of his unusual courtesy to a stranger. But if I did not, it is because I did not know how to disenchant him; and another interview without disenchantment was rather unthinkable to even my Russianity.

IVAN PANIN.

About "The Right of Way"

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I have been reviewing the reviewers with reference to Gilbert Parker's "The Right of Way." I read the book first, then the reviews, and was surprised to find how generally they agree in putting upon the culminating love-scene between Charley Steele and Rosalie Evanturel a construction which, though conceivable, seems to me improbable as to him, impossible as to her, and utterly destructive of the unique moral and spiritual beauty of the story.

Feeling that the higher interpretation of that scene was the true one, yet finding the weight of professional opinion apparently on the other side, I wrote in my doubt to Mr. Parker himself, asking whether, in his conception of the plot, Charley went so far as to ruin the girl he loved. The response was conclusive, and as its publication in The Outlook might relieve many a reader's mind, and thereby tend to lighten a busy writer's mail, I venture to give you the substance of it without express permission.

After explaining that he makes a rule to leave the interpretation of his books to the reader, Mr. Parker says: "The tale is there, and, as in life, *suspicion* is not sufficient to warrant condemnation, nor is the overwrought sensitiveness of a girl, educated religiously as this girl was, to be used as evidence against her. What I have stated I am responsible for; what others read into my story they must be responsible for; but this I do say, that no man or woman should find from me any justification for criticism of this pure woman."

C. S. P.

Buffalo.

An Educational Memorial

Some time ago we called the attention of our readers to the proposal of a number of graduates of the old Spingler Institute, of this city, to present to Vassar College a scholarship fund in memory of the late Gorham D. and Rebecca S. Abbot, the founders of the Spingler Institute. That fund has now been raised to the amount of eight thousand dollars, and the official presentation of the fund was recently made to and accepted by the authorities of Vassar. Gorham D. Abbot has been considered by many educators to be one of the very earliest pioneers in the work of higher education for women in this country, working in behalf of collegiate education for women

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at a time when the obstacles and opposition were discouraging in an extreme which it is hardly possible to realize to-day, with Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, and other institutions leading their flourishing and influential existence. The secretary of the fund has been in correspondence with between six and seven hundred pupils of graduates of Mr. Gorham Abbot's school, responses having come to her from thirty-five States of our Union, Canada, the Sandwich Islands, from England, France, and Italy—an interesting indication of the constantly widening effect of a fine and uplifting personal influence. Mrs. M. E. Mead, of Norwalk, Conn., is the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and on application to her a report of this very interesting record of educational work and influence will be sent by mail. The Committee are also preparing an illustrated volume, entitled "The Spingler Book," which will tell the story of this first woman's collegiate school. It will be published at one dollar a copy.

The Filipino Memorial

THE following is an abstract of the memorial or petition of the Federal party of the Philippine Islands to the Congress of the United States, which was transmitted to the Senate by the Secretary of War on the afternoon of February 12.

After citing the section of the Treaty of Paris which provides that Congress shall determine the civil rights and political status of the people of the islands, the memorialists say, by way of preamble, that Congress was not able at once to fulfill its international obligation in this respect, owing to the unfortunate fact that the Filipinos, through misunderstanding rather than hatred, attacked the sovereignty of the United States. At the present time, however, this attack has virtually ceased. Fifty-eight out of the sixty Philippine provinces and districts are now completely pacified, and a state of war exists only in Batangas and Samar. The pacified pueblos anxiously desire the establishment of civil rule, and the absence of a popular civil government is alleged, by the Filipinos who are still in revolt, as a reason and an excuse for their continued resistance. The great majority of the people accept and recognize American sovereignty, and there is no reason why the military régime should not be replaced by a civil government of a popular character, in conformity with the recommendations of President McKinley in his annual message of December 5, 1899.

In view of the state of facts set forth in this preamble, the Federal party, availing itself of the recognized constitutional right of a people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for the redress of grievances, respectfully present the following petition for annexation and a Territorial form of government.

From all the evidence available, the Federal party is of opinion that "the intention of the Americans and Filipinos is constitutionally to join the Philippines to America, in such a way that the former may never be separated from the latter, nor the latter disunited from the former." To make of the Philippines a colony would be to perpetuate abuses and injustices with which the people were surfeited under the rule of Spain. To grant them, on the other hand, complete independence would be to hand them over to the forces of disorder and anarchy. Federation or annexation, therefore, in the opinion of a majority of the Filipino people, is the best, if not the only, solution of the problem. The memorialists consequently pray for "a declaration by the Congress of the United States to the effect that the Philippine Islands, as they are described in the Treaty of Paris and subsequent conventions with Spain, are an integral part of the Republic of the United States of North America, the said Philippine Islands constituting a Territory, with the rights and privileges which the Constitution of the United States grants to the other Territories, such as that of becoming eventually a State of the Union."

The form of Territorial government which the memorialists propose is as follows: (*a*) A governor, to be appointed by the President of the United States,

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(*b*) A legislature to be composed of two chambers—a Senate and a House of Representatives. (*c*) A federal court for the trial of federal matters, the members of which shall be appointed by the President of the United States.

The Governor shall have a cabinet of four secretaries—interior; treasury; public instruction; and agriculture, industry, and commerce—who shall be appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Filipino Senate. The Governor shall have a veto power over the chambers, similar to that which the American Constitution gives to the President of the United States. The Senate shall be composed of thirty members, fourteen to be appointed by the Governor and sixteen to be elected by suffrage. All appointments made by the Governor to offices whose salaries exceed $3,000 per year shall require the consent of the Filipino Senate. The number of Representatives in the lower House shall not exceed one for every 100,000 inhabitants. Until a census is taken, there shall be one Representative from each province and district, and six from the city of Manila, all to be chosen by popular vote. Representatives may be either Filipinos or Americans, but the latter must have a residence of three years in the country and must be of lawful age. Every elector must be a Filipino or an American, who is twenty-one years of age, who can read and write, and who has resided one year in the locality. The sessions of the chambers shall not exceed ninety days in each year. Each chamber shall make its own rules and elect its own presiding officer. "We facilitate the admission of Americans to the legislature," the memorialists say, "by recognizing the authority of the Governor to appoint fourteen members of the thirty who are to compose the Senate, for the purpose of educating ourselves in American legislation."

The Philippine Archipelago shall be represented in the Congress of the United States by two delegates to be elected by the Filipino House and Senate in joint session assembled.

Having thus outlined a form of Territorial government which they think would be in accordance with the social and political conditions of the country, the memorialists beg Congress to adopt adequate measures to remedy "the ancient evil known as the Friar, under which denomination are included all of the religious orders now existing in the islands." The abuses of these orders caused the bloody struggles of the past, and the contentions with regard to the administration of the wealthy Filipino parishes, as well as the controversies over the ownership of the great estates held by the orders in various provinces of the archipelago, keep up and intensify the hatred felt for the friars by the Filipino people. The memorialists beg that Congress will attack the evil at the root, in accordance with the recommendations of Governor Taft and without prejudice to the rights asserted by the pueblos.

The memorialists further pray for a general amnesty, to include all revolutionists who have surrendered and submitted to American sovereignty. Thousands of prosecutions are now being brought against such persons for acts of violence committed by them while they were in the field, and many of them have been deported to distant islands or are serving out sentences in prisons and jails, while their families are suffering in poverty and grief. The great number of the accusations is now beginning to be a menace to public tranquillity, and is a serious obstacle in the way of complete pacification.

The memorialists then ask for "a prompt and efficacious remedy for the want of money," and suggest that Congress authorize useful public works, and empower the present Insular Government to "negotiate a loan, at a fair rate of interest, amortizable gradually within fifty years, and secured by the insular, provincial, and municipal revenue of the Philippines."

Finally, the memorialists urge Congress to approve all the acts of the Civil Commission, and to devote to educational purposes the money captured from the former Filipino Government.

In a statement appended to the memorial the Federal party asserts that it has 296 organized branches throughout the archipelago, and that its work has resulted in the surrender of 11 insurgent generals, 28 colonels and lieutenant-colonels, 20 majors, and 2,798 lower officers and men, with 22 cannon and 4,440 guns.

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Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address. Any book named in Notes and Queries will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, on receipt of price.

In The Outlook of January 11, in your book review column, you say, in a review of "Biblical and Semitic Studies, Critical and Historical Essays by Members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University," "The patriarchs of Genesis cannot in general be regarded as real persons. This is the view of fact that modern scholars are compelled to take." 1. Kindly give the names of those patriarchs who are "not regarded as real persons," and the reasons (2) why scholars (evangelical?) are compelled to abandon their former belief. E. P. H.

1. In general, though not unanimously, all before Moses. 2. In general, the study of early Oriental history in the light of recently discovered inscriptions. This evidence is of such a kind that it requires a detailed account impossible to give here. Some part of it will be found in the volume referred to. See also the "Early History of Syria and Palestine," by Professor Paton, of Hartford Seminary (Scribners, New York, $1.25). A letter sent to your address has been returned as "unclaimed."

Will you kindly give me the titles of the best books for the careful study of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings? L. A. C.

For the whole series named Day's "Social Life of the Hebrews" (Scribners, $1.25) and Budde's "Jewish Religion to the Exile" (Putnams, $1.50) may be read with profit. For Judges and Samuel the best special works are the volumes on these two in the International Critical Commentary series (Scribners, $2.50 each). For Joshua see what is relative thereto in Briggs's "Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch" (Scribners, $2.50). Dean Farrar's volume on Kings in the Expositor's Bible Series is good, but hardly up to date. Ottley's "Short History of the Hebrews" (Macmillan, $1.25) is illuminating at many points.

I hear a great deal said about the New Theology, but have not been able to find out whether it is simply a current opinion or a published work. Can you give information regarding it? 1. Is there a published work? if so, where is it published? 2. The general scope or character of the treatise? 3. Is its treatment of the subject based upon good authority? S. J. T.

Two small volumes, Spence's "Back to Christ" (McClurg & Co., Chicago, $1), and Cobb's "Theology Old and New" (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, $1), are each an excellent and trustworthy account of the subject. We must refer you to one or the other or both of these, the subject being too large for this column, and too large even for one small book. There is "good authority" underlying these volumes.

What do you consider the best book for the study of Genesis—one that will give the latest results of modern scholarship and of the higher criticism? E. L. B.

There is no one book that fully answers the purpose named. Consult the following: Worcester's "Book of Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge"—this deals only with the first ten chapters (McClure, Phillips & Co., New York, $3); Paton's "Early History of Syria and Palestine" (Scribners, $1.25); Barton's "Sketch of Semitic Origins" (Macmillan, $3). For the documentary analysis see Bennett's "Primer of the Bible" (Holt & Co., $1.25). The leading commentary at present is Dillmann's, two volumes (Scribners, $6).

Has a church any legal or moral right to take children into membership without the knowledge or consent of their parents? C. E. W.

We know of no law that forbids it. The consent of parents ought always to be requested. If consent is withheld, the further duty of the church in the matter depends on so various circumstances, for instance, the age of the child, the conditions of the home, the character of the parents, the consequences involved in action or delay, that no general opinion can be given, except that every proper effort to obtain parental consent should be made.

"Will you tell me where I can procure a brief outline of the government, form of service and history of the Established Church of England?" I find this "query" in The Outlook of February 1, and think it may possibly help the querist to direct him to a recent work of William Boyd Carpenter's, Bishop of Ripon. It is entitled "A Popular History of the Church of England," and I have found no volume so helpful, giving a brief and most interesting account of the Church from the earliest times to the present day. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, $2.50.) J. A. N.

The Outlook commended Bishop Carpenter's work in its book columns, May 19, 1900. It was not commended to this inquirer because, being a work of 517 pages, it was not quite what he asked for—"a brief outline."

Can you tell me why the United States paid so large a sum as $10,000,000 for what is known as the Gadsden Purchase of 1853? The only reason assigned, so far as I can find, is that it was bought to settle a boundary dispute. As compared with what was paid in other cases the price seems enormous. R. E. A.

Besides the territory then purchased (so much of Arizona and New Mexico as lies south of the River Gila), Mexico surrendered large claims, from fifteen to thirty million dollars in amount, for Indian depredations. The Mexicans were greatly dissatisfied with the bargain, and it became the occasion of Santa Anna's banishment.

Our answer to "N.," February 1, has been supplemented by several correspondents as follows:

I would suggest to the lay reader selections from "Bible Teachings in Nature," by Hugh Macmillan. This book contains "story-like sermons" or essays, "rich in illustrations," which are suitable. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) For suitable short stories I would recommend "The Other Wise Man," by Dr. van Dyke, "Fishin' Jimmy," by Annie T. Slosson, and several of Kate Douglas Wiggin's short stories, especially "Marm Lisa." There is a charming story for the purpose named, which appeared years ago in a volume called "Treasures from Fairy Land," edited by Rossiter W. Raymond and Grace Greenwood; it is entitled "Two Old Angels, a New England Story" (The American News Company). H. S. K.

In reply to "N.'s" inquiry for books of "story-like sermon, or sermons rich in illustration," I would recommend Professor Henry Drummond's addresses. They may be had at almost any book-store, in various styles and at various prices. H. S. W.

In reply to "N.'s" inquiry for sermons for a lay reader's use, I would suggest Dean Hodges's "Path of Life," "In This Present World," "The Battles of Peace," and others (T. Whittaker, New York). R. E. A.

"The Gambling Evil:" Inquiries are occasionally made for some brief and effective publication on this subject. By request of the Northern New Jersey Conference of Congregational Churches, the League for Social Service has issued a 14-page leaflet, under the above title, prepared by a member of The Outlook staff, and especially adapted for use by Young Men's Christian Associations, Christian Endeavor Societies, teachers, and other friends and guides of young people. Address the League, at 287 Fourth Avenue, New York. Price $5 per 1,000, $3 for 500, 75 cents for 100, one cent for single copies. For mailing in quantities add 13 cents postage per 100 copies.

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FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

onnecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company

The Members:

)ne more has been added to the many years in ich by the diligent exercise of carefulness, pru- ice, and economy your company has, in the full- s of strength and in a degree equaled by none er, been realizing for its great membership the fect intention and the ideal results of life insur- e: absolutely reliable protection to the benefi- ries needing it, at its actual and lowest annual t to the person paying for it, with complete ity between the members; and what is of equal ment, it has steadfastly maintained those prin- les of administration which are essential to en- ring success: those conditions of vigorous vitality ermined by the selection of sound lives in healthy alities, low cost of business, the conservative ent and character of contract undertakings, with ir proper financial basis and protection, which l still enable it as the years go by to fulfill to the ter, at least cost, and to the highest hope and st of the dependent family, the one specific vice which life insurance, alone among human stitutions, can render.

The Secret of its Success

It is by resolute adherence to these principles d the maintenance of these necessary conditions, ainst a competition inspired by very different ews, that The Connecticut Mutual has come to at estate of solid strength in its membership, alth and soundness in its business, its condition, d that steady uniformity of the best results year ter year, which have been and continue to be ong the most marked characteristics of its pros- rous and beneficent career.

While others strive for great and rapid growth, gardless of the great cost and enormous waste of siness that goes with their fierce competition, d would persuade the public that all who do not lopt their aims and follow their methods are ficient in ambition and energy, your company lds steady to the purpose of furnishing the best at life insurance can do at its very least attain- le cost.

What better can it do? What other or different ing ought it to strive for? What other or differ- t thing can it, or any other company, undertake ith real success?

The True Aim

For consider: Life insurance contemplates and adjusted to just one end: the immediate and fficient protection of those dependent ones who re either not at all or insufficiently provided for in ase their breadwinner dies, and for whom he can ake no other provision at once, and can make no ther at all except by the long process of yearly avings slowly accumulated in savings banks or by investment in safe securities bearing interest at a moderate rate, all subject to interruption and delay by unfortunate contingencies, and to be brought to an end at any moment by his death.

Life insurance changes all this: It, and it alone among human schemes, can provide at once, in case of death, the fund which could have been accumulated only in a long lifetime, which might never have been otherwise accumulated at all, which at best could have grown but slowly, and might have been stopped at any time.

This is the one thing life insurance can do; this is the one thing which no other device of man can do. Every other thing that can be done for men with money, and with their money, can be done, and best done, by other financial schemes and the institutions designed and fitted to their specific purposes, but this one thing none other can do. Therefore must he on whose life others depend, use it for their immediate and sufficient protection.

The Limitations of Life Insurance

In dealing with life insurance as one of the most useful and influential factors in the development of our socio-economic life, it is of the highest importance not only to recognize at its fullest use and value its true aim and single function, but also to recognize the limitations of that function by reason both of the singleness of the aim itself, and by certain incidents inseparable from the conduct of the business as a business; which incidents sum up their effect in an expense of management necessarily higher than that of any other class of institutions used for the care and investment of money.

Unfortunately the business is, and apparently can be, done only by solicitation, which is costly; and it demands the employment of large office and medical staffs and field organizations.

While, then, the service life insurance renders is unique, its cost, even when kept rigidly down to a minimum, is unique as compared with that of savings banks or the investment of money in ordinary safe ways.

But because a man's duty to protect his family is imperative, and because he cannot otherwise rightly and fully discharge it, he is justified in incurring that expense for that purpose. But he is not justified in incurring that expense by using the company to do some other and different thing which can be done by some other instrumentality at far less expense.

Moreover, a life insurance company cannot undertake the obligations and operations peculiar to other institutions without using methods and subjecting its business to contingencies which contravene and imperil the very structure imposed upon life insurance by its own particular purpose.

When a life insurance company, in order to attract business, undertakes to treat its reserves, created and held for the ultimate payment of all

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its insurance contracts, as if they were deposits in a savings bank, subject to withdrawal at the will of the depositor, and so to be looked upon by him as an investment; or makes its policies seem to be a "bond," comparable in cost and outcome with a real bond investment, it not only exposes its whole insurance business to the sudden paying out of the reserves necessary to its integrity, but, if it regards its premiums as "deposits" or as "installment payments" for the purchase of "bonds," it has to charge these deposits or installments with not only their annual contribution to death losses, but with commissions to agents and other expenses which take out of them every year a large percentage on each $100 deposited or paid in, varying according to the company's economy or want of it. And this stands in contrast with deposits in savings banks without any commissions at all and but slight comparative cost of management, and with real investments in mortgages, bonds, or good stocks, with no expense at all.

Present Competition

Obviously one cannot afford to employ a life insurance company with its necessarily high expense rate, to act as his savings bank, nor to regard its policies, however phrased, as real investment bonds, nor to have his life insurance on which his family depends exposed to the constant menace of the wholesale withdrawal by others of the necessary reserves as if they were really mere deposits in bank.

Yet it is precisely along these lines that business is most sought to-day, and the companies seeking it most eagerly are those that have the heaviest expense rate, and the business is secured in part at least through misapprehension. The expense is concealed from the policy holder for the present by postponing dividends for long periods of years, with the expectation also that meantime many forfeitures will occur for the benefit of those who outstay the period; the "5 per cent. bond" sells through concealment of its real cost and of the fact that for the same money one pays for a $10,000 "bond" he could have instead $13,000 cash down; and the companies turn themselves practically into savings banks, trusting luck that the run may never come which would destroy them as insurance companies.

Lesson of Experience

And yet one of the most striking features of the experience of the companies competing by these methods for great growth for twenty-five years and more is the fact that, notwithstanding the enormous lapses and forfeitures which have occurred and upon which they have depended for unusual profits to those who outlived and outstayed the deferred dividend period, the expense has been so great that the actual dividends have not even approximated the estimates upon which the business was secured.

The Sound Position

It is because there is but just the one thing that life insurance can do that no other institution can do, and because, at best, its necessary cost is relatively high, and because any other financial operation can be better and more cheaply done by some other institution organized for its own specific purpose, and because a life insurance company cannot do anything that other institutions specially undertake except at a disproportionate excessive cost, and yet more, because any ot thing which other institutions undertake is, specific aim, method, and incident, in conflict w and more or less destructive of the proper ai methods, and results of life insurance and administration; it is because of these things T Connecticut Mutual has refused to be led aside the stress of competition, to deck out life insura in the garb of something else, has adhered to true and particular aim of life insurance and necessary method, and has thereby accomplisl its intended result of perfect protection at low c in an incomparable degree; it is because of th things that it still so bases and frames and adn isters its contracts as to give to its beneficiai sure protection at least cost and at annual cost the payer of the premiums, according to his o proper risk from whatever cause, protecting h against fraud by others and the cost of it, and taking anything from him by any device for benefit of some one else.

It is in its business so conceived, so based, a so administered, that your company has achiev that great strength, steady prosperity, and t steady and great volume of operation that ha enabled it to serve its members to their unic advantage; and it is in holding to the same si conditions and in the full fruition of their c sequences, that it confidently hopes to render future service of equal beneficence to depend families, and of equal value to those whose duty is to protect them.

The Operations of the Year

In its main results and in the conditions affecti the future with which it closes, the year 1901 wa satisfactory one. The details are given so fu elsewhere that we shall here deal only with the g eral features of the year's experience.

The new business written was larger in amou than in the previous year; the number of laps and other terminations was considerably smalle the increase in the amount of business in force w consequently greater, with a corresponding increa in premium income and in assets.

Mortality

Owing to the age of the company and the remai ably small proportion of lapses and surrenders a the consequent persistence of its business, its ris have come to have a greater average age than tho of any other company; it has also proportionate larger resources in the reserves held on the amou at risk. Although from the greater average a the mortality is necessarily large, it is far less th was expected and has been provided for by the greater resources, a corresponding part of whi becomes each year a saving from the expect losses. This saving during the past year amount to $595,819.

The volume of risks, their excellent characte their steady persistence, and the care with which th new business is selected to replace the old, all co bine to give a mortality experience very favorab in rate and very uniform on the average. Throug out the entire history of the company its losses ha been less than four-fifths of those expected.

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Expenses of Management

The same careful economy has been exercised as in all the past. For the last two or three years the expenses incident to the care and repairs upon foreclosed real estate, which have been charged to expense account rather than to the property account, have carried our expense ratio temporarily higher than our usual standard. This difference will disappear as the property which has caused it is disposed of. The ratio for 1901 was less than that for 1900.

Real Estate, Interest, and Investments

For the seven years prior to 1901 foreclosures of mortgages were in considerable excess of sales. During the last year, however, the situation has changed; we took in properties costing us $217,814.35, and sold properties that had cost $868,379.26. Some of these sold at a profit and some at less than original cost. Many of the properties sold were among our older holdings in localities where changes of business centers had permanently depreciated values. We still have some properties in like situation, which will probably sell for something less than cost, and it is our purpose to dispose of them as it can be done without unnecessary loss, and so improve income and reduce expense. Upon the greater body of our holdings, however, we may reasonably expect some gain in a fair market. We have made a good deal of money on the whole on foreclosed real estate.

The large addition to the Home Office building referred to in our last report is nearing completion, and is being followed by changes in and additions to the old which will bring the two advantageously together, with a good prospect of a satisfactory financial result.

The interest rate on desirable loans and securities has tended to a still further decline, with a growing scarcity of satisfactory investments for funds in the nature of a trust. We have considerably reduced loans on real estate and increased our holding of first-class railway securities.

The balance or net profit of the year upon changes in securities and sale of real estate was $88,603.75.

The market value of our securities has increased considerably during the year; and they are of a character to be least unfavorably affected by market fluctuations.

Surplus and Dividends

As the cost of a man's policy in a mutual insurance company is the difference between the premiums charged and the amount returned to him by way of a dividend, the surplus earned and the surplus divided become very important factors in his experience with his company. Surplus can be earned legitimately in only three ways; 1, by smaller expenses than the premium provides for; 2, by a less mortality than is provided for; 3, by a higher rate of interest than is assumed as probable in computing premiums and reserves.

For many years the competition has had a bad effect upon the expense account of most companies; it has also led to a good deal of apparently doubtful experimentation in the selection of risks and in dealing with hazards; and the steady decline in the interest rate has eaten away much of a very important item of possible surplus.

The matter is of somewhat special interest to us at this time because the disagreeable task of cutting dividends has been in recent years and is still being quite largely performed by some companies; and any reference to their reduced dividends in comparison with the increasing scale maintained by The Connecticut Mutual for now twenty-one years, is met by the assertion that this company, too, must presently cut down its returns; that the rate of interest is going down, and that its surplus is already diminishing.

We have never undertaken to prophesy. We do not try to prejudge events. We prefer to meet them, and our duty to you under them, without pressure or prejudice from wrong preconceptions, or from having put ourselves in a false position. When we can no longer earn the surplus we are dividing and can no longer safely trench upon the large existing surplus, kept up for the purpose, to maintain the present rate of dividend, we shall not hesitate to say so and to act as the facts may require.

History of Our Surplus

We only wish to call the attention of those in any manner interested to a few pertinent facts:

For many years this company has been governed by the idea that, while surplus should be quite closely divided each year so as to make a man's payments as small as possible, yet, as it is impossible that an absolutely complete division can be made, and as a gradual if small annual reduction in payment tends to the persistence of the business, it is desirable in unusually good years to accumulate such margins of surplus as may be earned over and above ordinary surplus-earning capacity, to be used in maintaining the dividend rate in the years when the margins may fall below. It greatly helps the premium-payer, and, the proper adjustment by post-mortem dividend being made, it works no inequity to any one.

During the decade 1870–80 the company had occasion to trench very largely on accumulated surplus in this manner. In 1881 its surplus was $3,351,155, which was 6.77 per cent. of its assets. The conditions being untoward, it was decided to reduce the dividend scale to the apparent actual earning capacity. From this point we began to earn small items of surplus above the amount annually divided. In 1882 we recast the premiums and reserves for all future business on a basis of 3 instead of 4 per cent. interest, which cut down the margin for expenses and increased the amount required for reserve. Notwithstanding, in 1892 the surplus had crept up to $6,059,156. It was then deemed proper to liberally revise the scale of division; but the surplus continued to increase until 1898, when it stood at $7,521,909. Since then it has been somewhat drawn upon each year to maintain the long-continued scale of dividend. How long it may be necessary to do this, if it long remains necessary, or how far we may deem it wise and prudent to continue the process, we cannot predict. It is a just and proper as well as the intended use of past accumulations of surplus so long as it is safe. When it approaches the questionable point, we shall stop and frankly go upon a scale that squares with the facts and conditions likely to govern the future.

We could spare over $2,500,000 from our present surplus of $7,011,040, and yet have as large a per-

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centage to assets remaining as when we made the last cut in 1881, saying nothing of over $2,470,000 greater comparative strength in our reserves by reason of the three per cent. interest assumption.

We are maintaining the low cost of business; the sales of real estate will gradually reduce taxes and expenses and improve the surplus income, and we shrunk our surplus last year only $180,308.

And our situation respecting the use of surplus differs materially from that of most companies in this, that the bulk of theirs is held under a moral though not a legal or contract lien for the deferred dividends hoped for by those who outstay the next one to twenty years. It is not so with us. It is not held as a speculation for a few, but for the benefit of the business as a whole.

We ask careful scrutiny of the following record of the operations of fifty-six years:

Complete Financial History

Received:		
For premiums	$216,751,123.41	
For interest	89,762,760.29	
For rents	8,892,648.73	
Balance profit and loss	1,238,556.90	
Total receipts		$316,645,089.33
It has paid death claims for	$109,759,365.91	
Endowments and annuities for	15,449,303.79	
for surrendered policies	26,691,442.17	
for dividends	62,379,708.56	
A total returned to policy-holders or their beneficiaries, being 98.86 per cent. of the entire premiums received	$214,279,820.43	
It has paid for expenses	28,911,657.70	
Taxes	10,804,028.28	
Total expenditures		253,995,506.41
Balance net assets, January 1, 1902		62,649,582.92
It has additional assets (see statement)		2,627,596.29
Total assets		$65,277,179.21

The Connecticut Mutual has returned to its policy-holders and their beneficiaries 98.86 per cent. of all it has received from them; what it has returned and the assets it still holds for the security of its contracts are 128.98 per cent. of what it has received for them; and its expenses of management for all that time have been but 9.13 per cent. of its total income.

It is the simple fact that no American company matches this record. And it is this record of the past, the present maintenance of the conditions which made it possible, and a financial condition of unusual soundness and strength, that we offer as the best possible guarantees of the future.

Respectfully submitted,

JACOB L. GREENE, President.

January 21, 1902.

56th Annual Statement

of the

CONNECTICUT MUTUAL

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

Of Hartford, Conn.

NET ASSETS, January 1, 1901,		$62,340,022.29
RECEIVED IN 1901.		
For Premiums,	$5,109,053.55	
For Interest and Rents,	2,984,816.58	
Profit and Loss,	88,603.75	
		8,182,473.88
		70,522,496.17
DISBURSED IN 1901.		
For claims by death, matured endowments, and annuities	$4,642,494.93	
Surplus returned to policy-holders,	1,284,996.24	
Lapsed and Surrendered Policies,	554,217.45	
TOTAL TO POLICY-HOLDERS,	$6,481,708.62	
Commissions to Agents, Salaries, Medical Examiners' Fees, Printing, Advertising, Legal, Real Estate, all other Expenses,	1,005,752.01	
TAXES,	385,852.62	
		7,872,913.25
BALANCE NET ASSETS, Dec. 31, 1 01,		$62,649,582.92
SCHEDULE OF ASSETS.		
Loans upon Real Estate, first lien,		$23,551,115.84
Loans upon Stocks and Bonds,		2,300.00
Premium Notes on Policies in force,		697,032.91
Cost of Real Estate owned by the Company,		11,919, 75.31
Cost of Bonds,		24,557,153.61
Cost of Bank and Railroad Stocks,		803,454.00
Cash in Banks,		1,105,970.23
Bills receivable,		3,918.77
Agents' Debit Balances,		9,062.25
		$62,649,58 .92
ADD		
Interest due and accrued,	$900,712.62	
Rents due and accrued,	10,633.28	
Market value of stocks and bonds over cost,	1,374,761.17	
Net uncollected and deferred premiums,	354,470.24	
	$2,640,577.31	
Less Bills Receivable and Agents' Debit Balances,	12,981.02	
		$2,627,596.29
ADMITTED ASSETS, December 31, 1901,		$65,277,179.21
LIABILITIES:		
Amount required to re-insure all outstanding Policies, net, Company's standard,	$56,748,091.00	
All other liabilities,	1,518,047.62	
		$58,266,138.62
SURPLUS (including contingent real estate depreciation mem. account, $548,082.56),		$7,011,040.59
Ratio of expenses of management to receipts in 1901,		12.28 per cent.
Policies in force Dec. 31, 1901, 69,016, insuring,		$163,680,144.00

JACOB L. GREENE, President.
JOHN M. TAYLOR, Vice-Prest.
HERBERT H. WHITE, Secretary.
DANIEL H. WELLS, Actuary.

THEODORE E. LANE, General Agent,
Boreel Building, 115 Broadway,
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

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I know that nine-tenths of the readers of this advertisement would immediately become my pupils if I could but devise a way of convincing them that my system of Physiological Exercise will do all I claim for it and is something new, genuinely superior, safer, more scientific and rational than any other ever before devised.

My system produces healthy men, women and children. It embodies the ideal principles of attaining and maintaining the highest conception of perfect manhood and womanhood. If for a few weeks my instructions are faithfully followed I will not only guarantee a magnificent muscular development and improved physique, but with it a condition of vigorous health scarcely dreamed of by hitherto weak or partially developed men or women. No drugs—no artificial stimulants—no pepsin or digestive bitters are needed by my pupils. I give you an appetite always ready for meal-time, and a digestive apparatus able and willing to assimilate your food and fill your veins with pure rich blood, a heart strong and vigorous to pump that blood to every part of the body, lungs that supply to the full the oxygen needed, and nerves so true and keen that daily work is a pleasure and the capacity for physical and mental exertion proportionately increased. Your sleep shall be sound and dreamless and the morning light shall find you equipped for the duties of life as you never were before.

All this have I done for thousands. I can do it for you, because my system is based upon natural laws, as rational and logical as those which govern the universe.

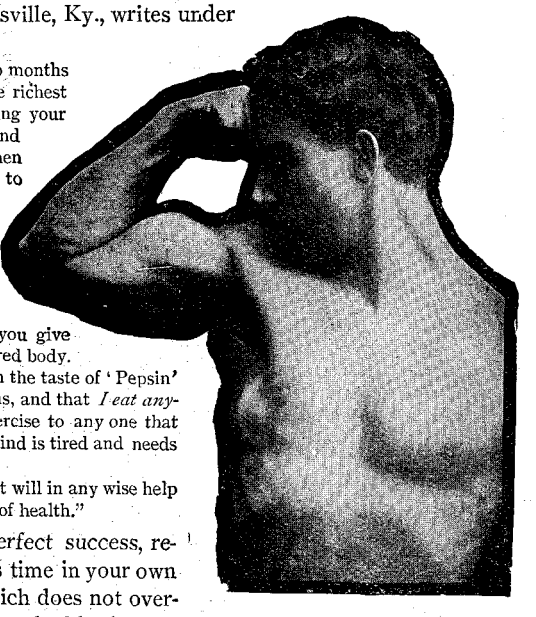
I should like to have you take my word for it, but do not ask it—instead, I offer and shall continue to do so, the indisputable and unparalleled testimony of prominent American citizens.

Mr. C. O. Prouse, a leading attorney of Hopkinsville, Ky., writes under date of October 5, 1901 :

"Allow me to thank you for your kindness for the past two months and for your instructions, which have been to me one of the richest blessings that I have ever received. At the time of beginning your exercises I was simply a nervous wreck—was constipated and suffered intensely with indigestion; was easily overtaxed when attempting work of any kind and seemed almost impossible to recuperate without leaving off for months all mental and physical labor, but thanks to you I was enabled without medicine of any description (something I had not done for over two years) to keep up with my work and at the same time increase my weight and general health until now—only two months—I feel like a new man; am healthy, strong and tireless. Now I do not know how to be tired, as the exercise you give seems to rest me instead of tiring—it acts like a stimulant to a tired body.

"It does me a great deal of good to say that I have forgotten the taste of 'Pepsin' and such other medicines for a weak stomach or digestive organs, and that *I eat anything I want.* I can heartily recommend your system of exercise to any one that desires a good physical condition—a condition that when the mind is tired and needs the night's rest, restful sleep will be his reward.

"I will take pleasure in answering any correspondence that will in any wise help you along the road to success and some unfortunate to the road of health."



My system is taught by mail only and with perfect success, requires no apparatus whatever and but a few minutes time in your own room just before retiring, and it is the only one which does not overtax the heart. I shall be pleased to send you free valuable information and detailed outline of my system, its principles and effects, together with testimonial letters from pupils.

ALOIS P. SWOBODA,

362 Western Book Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

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Reward of Merit

A New Catarrh Cure Secures National Popularity in Less than One Year

Throughout a great nation of eighty million it is a desperate struggle to secure even a recognition for a new article to say nothing of achieving popular favor, and yet within one year Stuart's Catarrh Tablets, the new catarrh cure, has met with such success that to-day it can be found in every drug store throughout the United States and Canada.

To be sure a large amount of advertising was necessary in the first instance to bring the remedy to the attention of the public, but everyone familiar with the subject knows that advertising alone never made any article permanently successful. It must have in addition absolute, undeniable merit, and this the new catarrh cure certainly possesses in a marked degree.

Physicians, who formerly depended upon inhalers, sprays, and local washes or ointments, now use Stuart's Catarrh Tablets because, as one of the most prominent stated, these tablets contain in pleasant, convenient form all the really efficient catarrh remedies, such as red gum, blood root, and similar antiseptics.

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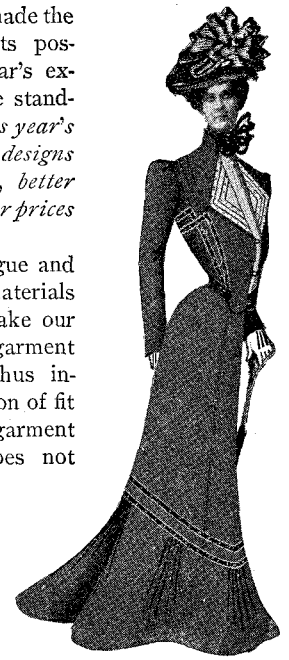

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